

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
GENERAL REVIEW.

MARCH, 1841.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
I. THE LIFE OF SAINT BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, A CHAPTER OUT OF THE MIDDLE AGES	1	An Abridgment of Leverett's Latin Lexicon. By FRANCIS GARDNER, A. M.	119
II. THE OXFORD TRACTS	41	Sermons on Practical Subjects. By LANT CARPENTER, LL. D.	121
Tracts for the Times, by Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. II. Part II., IV., and V.		Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit. By SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE	121
III. PASTORAL LIBRARY MAGAZINE. No. I.	49	Reminiscences of the best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death	125
IV. THE HISTORY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY	56	Sermons to Children. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D.	126
The History of Harvard University. By JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D.		Who shall be Greatest? A Tale by MARY HOWITT	127
V. THE SABBATH	92	Agricultural Addresses. By HENRY COLMAN	128
A Book for the Sabbath; in Three Parts. I. Origin, Design, and Obligation of the Sabbath; II Practical Improvement of the Sabbath; III. Devotional Exercises for the Sabbath. By J. B. WATERBURY.		A Year's Life. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL	131
CRITICAL NOTICES.		Religion and Education in America; with Notices of the State and Prospects of American Unitarianism, Popery, and American Colonization. By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D. D., &c.	134
Reasons for becoming a Roman Catholic; addressed to the Society of Friends. By FREDERIC LUCAS, Esq.	109	Remarks on the Nature and Probable Effects of introducing the Voluntary System in the Studies of Latin and Greek, &c. into Harvard University. By JOSIAH QUINCY	140
Emancipation. By WILLIAM E. CHANNING	112	The young Mother's Delight in the Guidance of her Child's Intellect. By WILLIAM MARTIN	143
The Life and Times of Thomas Cranmer	115	A Liturgy for the Use of King's Chapel. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D.	144
The Rhode-Island Book. Selections in Prose and Verse, from the writings of Rhode-Island Citizens. By ANNE C. LYNCH	117	Sacred Paths; or Life in Prospect of Immortality	144

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY.
NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS.
LONDON: JOHN GREEN, 121 NEWGATE STREET.

1841.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

The Christian Examiner is published once in two months, on the first day of March, May, July, September, November, and January, making six numbers of 136 pages each, or two volumes, of 408 pages each, for every year, at \$4 per annum, payable on the delivery of the second number; that is, on the first of May.

No Subscription is received for less than a year.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Subscribers are reminded that their Subscriptions for 1841 fall due on the FIRST OF MAY.

All payments for the current year, and all communications relative to the work, of every kind, are to be made (free of expense) to the "Editor of the Christian Examiner," — addressed to him at Cambridge, or to the care of James Munroe & Co., Boston.

Individual Subscribers and Agents are respectfully requested to be punctual to the Month of May in making their remittances, as the Editor is wholly dependent upon his receipts from them for meeting the expenses of publication.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MARCH, 1841.

ART. I.—*De Melliflui devotique doctoris sūcti Bernardi Abbatis clarevallensis cisterciēsis ordinis opus preclarū suos cōpletes, sermones de tempore; de sanctis; et super cantica canticarum. Aliosque plures ejus sermones, et sentētias nusq. hactenus impressas. Ejusdem insuper epistolas ceteraque universa ejus opuscula. Domini quoque Gilleberti Abbatis Do. Hoilādia in Anglice prelibati ordinis super cantica sermones. Omnia sm. seriem hic a sequēti pagella annotatam collocata vigilanter et accurate super vetustissima clarevallis exemplaria apprime correctā. Johan. Petit. Venūdantur Parisiis in vice divi Jacobi sub Lilio aureo a Johanne Parvo. (Paris, 1513, one vol. fol.)*

SAINT BERNARD of Clairvaux,—his name carries us back to the depths of the middle ages. We connect it, in our associations, with Scholastic Theology, and Mystical Religion; with activity almost unbounded in the affairs of the Church. Austere monks, admiring women, and long ranks of crusaders come up in our fancy when his name is mentioned. St. Bernard was a great man in his time, and his day outlasted several centuries; for after his death he made a mark on the ages as they passed over his tomb, and the Church long bore the impress of his gigantic spirit. A man who oftener than once scorned to be archbishop; who dictated to kings, and wrote a manual for the “infallible head of the church;” who projected a crusade, uttered prophecies, and worked miracles, even after his death,—so his biographers affirm,—such a man was

St. Bernard in his day. Such is he now, by force of tradition, in the minds of many a true Catholic. It has been said that he honored the year when he became immortal, "and went to receive in heaven the reward of his illustrious virtue and glorious fatigues."* He was called in his own age and after it, "the firm pillar of the church," the "fellow citizen of the angels," the second interpreter of the Holy Ghost, and the second child of the most holy mother of God.† "The salu-
tiferous honey of moral instruction fell from his lips and flowed everywhere," says a learned Jesuit, writing many hundred years after his death. ‡ "The Bossuet of the twelfth century," his word shook the church, and made two great empires rock to their foundation.

Yet this man is forgotten in less than eight centuries from his birth. His books, no man reads them; or only those scholars "who have folios in their library," and graze with delight amid the frowzy pastures of old time, where the herbage is thick and matted together with ages of neglect. The Saint is no longer appealed to in controversies; his works are not reprinted except in ponderous collections of the Fathers, which the herd of scholars stare at and pass by, in quest of new things, wondering at the barbarism that could write, and the stupidity that can still read such works. But Bernard is eclipsed only because brighter lights have gone into the sky. We are struck with the wealth of thought there is in the world, when we read, on the pages of the nations, those names which Genius and Virtue have consecrated and forbid to die. But the world's richness seems still greater, when men, like this mighty Bernard, are not deemed worth remembering. But if he is thus quickly forgot, who of modern great men can stand? What existing reputation shall not be blown away as chaff, before the mystic fan of time?

Saint Bernard belongs to that long list of middle age scholars on whom the world has passed the bitter doom of forgetfulness and night. We would gladly rescue much that it consigns to oblivion; but its decree is irreversible, and there is no higher court of appeal, save only "the pure eyes and perfect witness of all judging Jove." The works of these men

* Muratori, *Annali d' Italia* etc. Tom. vi. p. 403, sq.

† Andres dell' *Origine progressi e Stato Attuale di Ogni Letteratura*, Romo. 1817. Tom. vii. p. 219, sq.

‡ Ibid.

stand in old libraries, and fill goodly presses with forgotten folios. Their ribbed backs; their antiquated dress, eaten with worms and covered with dust as many generations have passed by, — dust which no antiquarian finger has disturbed, — these things frighten the loose-girt student, and he turns away to read the novels of Bulwer and Scott, or laugh at the illustrations of La Fontaine's fables. Should he open the venerable tome, the barbarism of the print, the contractions unnumbered, which defile its thousand folio pages; the uncouth phraseology, the strange subjects which it treats; the scholastic terms, the distinctions without a difference, — all these repel the modern student. The gaunt shadow of the monk, its author, seems to rise from its coffin, and staring at the literary gentleman, to say, "Why hast thou disturbed my repose, and brought me to the day once more? Break not again my mystic dream." These are the authors before whom Industry folds her hands, and gives up the task; from whom Diligence, with his frame of iron and his eye of fire, turns away, dispirited and worn down. Yet were these men lights in their day. They shed their lustre over many a land. The shadows they cast fall still on us. Mankind looked hopeful as their light arose, and saw it sink, doubting that another would ever arise and equal it.

What a different spirit pervades the men of those ages we call dark, — not dreaming that our age, — the nineteenth century itself, — shall likewise one day be called by the same name. Their spirit is not classic, and it is not modern. You come down from Plato to St. Bernard, for example, and feel that you have made a descent. The high ideal of mortal life does not float before the eyes of the saint as before that great-hearted pagan. The character of these writings is unique. It has not the majestic tranquillity of the Greek literature, nor the tempestuous movement of modern works. Here worship takes the place of passion, and contemplation is preferred before action. This ideal life would be wretchedness to an American, and Tartarus itself to a Greek, for fast and vigils are thought better than alms-deeds and daily duty. The senses are looked upon as legitimate inlets of pain, and pain only. What austerity of discipline, — to which the wars of antiquity, and the commercial enterprises of our day were pastimes, — what watching, what fast and prayer, what visions and revelations, — the natural result of their life, — conspired to form these stout spirits.

You turn from the bustling literature of the nineteenth cen-

tury to the works of Bernard, and the change of atmosphere is remarkable. You feel it in every limb. It is as if you stepped at once from the hot plains of Ethiopia to the very summit of the Mountains of the Moon. Or better, as if you were transferred in a moment from the feverish heat of an August noon, to the cool majesty of an April night, when there was frost in the air, and a rawness in the occasional gusts of wind, come from what quarter they would; when clouds of grotesque shape and threatening darkness mingled capriciously with the uncertain shining of the moon, and the mysterious twinkle of the stars; when you were uncertain what weather had preceded or what would follow, but knew that a storm was not far off, it might have been, or might yet come, for all was organic and not settled. The difference between this and the spirit of Greek literature, is the difference between a forest, with its underbrush and winding paths, leading no one knows whither, — a forest full of shadows and wild beasts, — and a trim garden of great and beautiful trees, reared with art, planted by science, and arranged with most exquisite taste, — a garden where flowers bloomed out their fragrant life, fruits ripened on the stem, and little birds sang their summer carol, to complete the harmony of the scene.

In the days of Bernard, a saint was a popular character; the great man of a kingdom. Men went in crowds to see him. Women threw garlands on him as he passed, and branches were spread in his way. Rude peasants and crowned kings begged for his blessing, though it were but a mere wave of his hand. But we have changed all that, and more wisely confer them and the like honors on men in epaulets, and dancing girls. It is nature's law to pay men in kind. It may be surprising to our readers, but it is still true, that Saint Bernard, though lean as a skeleton almost, was received with as much eclat wherever he chanced to go, as the most popular modern statesman, or electioneering orator. Nay more, men made long pilgrimages to see him; they laid the sick, that they might be healed, in the streets where he walked, or beneath the windows of the house in which he chanced to pass the night, and the sick were cured, at least his three monkish and contemporary biographers credited the miracle. Rebellious Dukes, and a refractory Emperor were subservient to his will, and when at high mass he elevated the host, the stoutest of heart fell on his knees, and forgot his re-

bellion, becoming like a little child. The bold deniers of the church's authority, — bold even then, when it was dangerous to be bold, — shrunk from the grasp of this nervous athlete of the faith. Peter of Bruis, Henry of Lausanne, Gilbert of Poitiers, even Abelard himself, with his net of subtle dialectics, fine-meshed as woven wind, gave up at last to him. He uttered prophecies which time has not yet seen fit to fulfil, though the good Catholic, no doubt, hopes they will yet come to pass. In what follows we shall rely chiefly on the lives of this great man, which were written by several of his contemporaries.

Saint Bernard was born at Fontaines, in Burgundy, not far from Dijon, in the year of our Lord 1091. His father, Trecélin, a knight of an ancient family of considerable fortune, spent most of his life in arms, taking little pains about the education of his children. This duty fell to the lot of his pious and intelligent wife, Aleth, the daughter of Count Montbart, who discharged it with most exemplary fidelity. In old times, we are told, that supernatural signs preceded the birth of men predestined to eminence, and swarms of bees, or flocks of birds, or sheep with one horn in the middle of the forehead, foretold the character and prowess of the babe unborn, so that when he came into the world, he had nothing to do but realize the augury. The monkish historian, Abbot William of St. Thierry,* relates similar things of Bernard. To Aleth, as to Hecuba, was foretold the character of her son, with the same clearness in both cases. Aleth, before the birth of her child, dreamed of a dog, "white all over, but somewhat reddish on the back," and in her dream the dog barked, as dogs often do. Terrified at this prodigy, she sought ghostly counsel of a certain religious man. He, remembering that King David wished "that the tongue of the dogs may be dipped in the blood of the enemy," and being "filled with the spirit of prophecy," foretold that the child about to be born should bark loud and long at the enemies of the church. He should be an excellent preacher of the word, and his tongue should have a medicinal savor and cure diseases of the soul. The mother was comforted by this interpretation, which coming events very kindly fulfilled, and proved he could not only bark but bite also. Aleth, the mother of Bernard, and of five other sons and one daughter, was a religious woman, as religion was then understood. She

* Vita S. Bernardi Abbati, Lib. I. C. 1-3. Prefixed to Bernard's Works.

declined the splendors which usually belonged to her wealth and station ; lived almost a monastic life of prayer, fasting and self-mortification. She early dedicated her child to a monastic life, and accordingly gave him an education suited to his destiny. He received some instruction in the church at Châtillon. His contemporary and friend, the above named William, relates that in study he far surpassed his fellow students, but began his mortification of the flesh, also, at the same time. Even in his youth, he gave signs of the excellent virtue that was in him, and by his remarkable greatness of soul foreshowed what he was one day to become. Once he was violently afflicted with a head-ache, and "a sorry little woman was called in to cure him by the magic of songs. But soon as she came in with the implements of her art, which she used to delude the superstitious, he cried out against her with great indignation, and ordered the witch out of the house. He felt that virtue had come into him, and rising in the strength of the spirit, found himself free from all pain." This is looked on as one of his earliest miracles. Exceeding grace was given to the youth even in his tender years. "The Lord appeared to him, as to Samuel at Shiloh, and manifested his glory." This took place on Christmas night, as he sat waiting the event, between sleeping and waking. "Jesus appeared to him, like a bridegroom coming out of his chamber," and then took the form of the word just incarnated in the new-born babe, "beautiful above the sons of men." After this as he grew up and "increased in favor with God and man," the great Enemy spread in vain the witchery of his most enticing nets, and the serpent lay in wait to sting his heel. On one occasion, he was so sorely pressed by the same temptation that overcame even St. Anthony, and has been thought irresistible, that he could find no relief except by jumping into a pond of exceedingly cold water up to his ears. Here he remained until similar temptations lost all their power, and he lost nearly his life. But by "virtue of divine grace," he was ever after, "ice all over" to such allurements. Those who are curious in such matters may see in the good monk's biography how variously he was tempted by the Protean Devil, transforming himself into an angel of light, and how he yet kept whole, as a salamander in a Brazier's fire. While a school-boy in the world, he became a soldier of Christ, and had "visions and revelations of the Lord." Bernard lost his mother at an early

age, and then his youthful companions sought to seduce him from his pious vow and lead him away to their life of violence, and riot, and bloodshed.

In this period of the middle ages the line of distinction between noble and ignoble blood was drawn with peculiar sharpness, as feudal society is based on birth and birth only. For the ignoble there was open the common lot of the poor and despised. They served to flesh the swords of the nobles; to fight in their wars, with the certainty of loss to themselves, whether conquering or conquered. Slaves they were, to till the soil for their masters, to build castles and churches, at this day the proud monuments of gothic and feudal grandeur. Men's heads were made to think, but theirs to bear burdens. They were hewers of wood and drawers of water for their superiors, who should have borne their sorrows and upheld them when they fell. God gives to a few more excellent gifts of mind, or body, or social position, or wealth, not that they may thereby oppress their brethren, but that they may comfort and bless them. There are but two scales in the balance of society, the Rulers and the Ruled. As the one rises the other falls. In that age the world was far less rich in the comforts and conveniencies of life, than it is now. Therefore when we admire at the ruler's scale so well loaded, we are to remember also the empty scale of the poor, who could not tell their tale to other times, except by implication. When we admire the possessions of the powerful, the castles and cathedrals of those days, it may be profitable to remember, how wretched were the cabins in which the builders slept, and with what reluctant and compulsory toil, with what privation, hunger, and wretchedness this magnificence must have been bought. The eyes of the rich were fed with the bread of the poor. Men were left naked and comfortless that grandeur might pile up its marble and mortar. The needy asked bread and literally a stone was given them. The name of a tyrant who harried a province, and whose character was well imaged by the ferocious beasts he bore on his scutcheon, comes down to our times coupled with the epithet of Pious, or Gentle, because, forsooth, he built a church, or endowed a convent, with the fragments of rapacity that fell from his table; while the men who paid for it all with pain and toil and bloody sweat, lie forgotten in the ditches and fens where they labored and died. At that time the Christian maxim, "we that are strong ought to bear the in-

1

firmities of the weak," — a maxim which meant something to Paul and Jesus, as their lives attest, was regarded far less than even now. Such was the simple lot of the low-born and poor; their "puddle-blood" flowed at the mercy of each noble of haughty head and rapacious hand. But their prayers and the cry of their blood went up to the God of justice, who answered in the peasant wars, and similar convulsions from the twelfth century to the nineteenth. Such was their lot, a life of subjection, hardships, and bondage.

But for the other and less numerous class, two arenas were open, the World and the Church. There seems to have been no middle ground between the life of a Nobleman and that of an Ecclesiastic. Fortune met well-born men at their entrance into being, and said, "choose which you will, the Church or the World. I have no other alternative." The life of an Ecclesiastic, and the life of a Noble; the cloister and the camp, what a world lies between them! On the one side celibacy, fasting, and poverty, and prayer;* on the other riot, debauchery, wealth, and sin in general. Ambition pointed, and perhaps equally to both, for the Cardinal was often greater than the King, and the Pope was second only to the Almighty. Every lawyer in England, it is said, hopes one day to be Lord Chancellor, or at least Judge; and so, perhaps, every priest in the twelfth century hoped to be Pope, Cardinal, or Bishop at the very least. So young men of the noblest families rushed into convents, just as others rushed into camps. To the lasting

* It may be said *celibacy* was not universal at this time among the clergy, and it is certain the laws of that period are conflicting on this point. In some countries, as Hungary and Ireland, great freedom prevailed in this respect. Priests and Deacons, even Bishops, had their wives. At the council of Gran, 1114, a singular decree was passed. "Presbyteris uxores, — runs the original, — quas legitimis ordinibus accesserint, moderatius habendas, praevisa fragilitate, indulsumus." Synod Strigonicus. C. xxxi. p. 57, cited in Schroeckh's Kirchengeschichte, Vol. xxvii. p. 203. (Leipsig, 1798.) But Bernard complains bitterly that men with wives, — *virī uxorati*, — had got into the church. Even the Hungarian clergy gradually lost their freedom. Yet in 1273, Bishop Henry of Lüttich had fourteen children born in a little less than two years. See in Schroeckh, b. c. the gradual progress of celibacy in the church. But out of this partial evil there grew a general benefit. When there was no legitimate heir, there could be no spiritual aristocracy growing up to usurp dominion over the church, as the nobles had done over the state. "The wrath of man shall praise thee," says the Psalmist, "and the remnant of wrath thou wilt restrain."

praise of the Catholic Church, be it said, that she knew nothing of difference between rich and poor; at least, nothing in theory, though rich men daily bought and sold benefices, and that without concealment in the Pope's court. The Church was the last bulwark of Humanity in the dark ages. She kept in awe the rude barons and barbarous kings, and nestled the poor and forsaken comfortably in her bosom. In her eyes every one born at all was well born. Hence we find a cobbler in the chair of St. Peter, and that cobbler Gregory the Seventh, of whom all Europe stood in awe. The Church, thus opening for the poor the road to wisdom and power, unconsciously bettered their condition at large. For bishops, cardinals, and popes, elevated from the servile class, having no legitimate issue to provide for, or enrich with power and place transmitted to them, felt strongly the natural, instinctive love of their native class, and watched over it with a jealous care. The history of Thomas a Becket, and his sovereign, is a striking instance of this kind, where each represents a class.

The church and the camp were the two fields open before the wealthy and well-born. But in Bernard's time, a new and distinct arena was also opened; that of letters. A great enthusiasm for literature and philosophy sprang up in the eleventh century, as the world began to awake from its long sleep, and rub its drowsy eyes. Its starting point was the ancient philosophy, and the *Organum* of Boethius. In the twelfth century, the brilliant success of Abelard was both a cause and an effect of the new movement.* With him the scholastic philosophy began, as M. Cousin thinks.

After Bernard's companions found the camp had no charms "to shake the settled purpose of his soul," they tried him with the life of letters, in which his bright spirit found activity and joy. But this attempt also was fruitless. The image of his mother soared above him, and forbade the unholy life. His lively fancy brought her from the grave, in visions, and in his waking hours; she reminded him of her past example, and seemed to chide him for his faltering faith. Once, as he was travelling alone, to see his brothers in the Burgundian camp at Grancy, this thought came over him, and the image of his

* On the number of Abelard's pupils, and his influence, see *ouvrages inedites d'Abelard*, etc.; par M. Victor Cousin. Paris. 1836. *Introduction*, p. ii. seq.

mother filled his soul. He turned aside into a church to pray for strength to keep his resolve and be a monk. His prayer was granted. A voice said to him, *Qui audit dicat "Veni."* After this the difficulty was all over. He persuaded others to follow his example. Among these were his uncle, Galdric, a rich and celebrated man, and some of his brothers. But Guido, his oldest brother, mocked at Bernard's resolution, and called it frivolous. Guido, "a distinguished man, bound by wedlock, and more strongly rooted in the world than the others, stoutly refused the monastic life, when urged by the young enthusiast to accept it. Well he might shudder at the thought, for his married life seems to have been happy, and the change proposed involved a separation from his wife and children, and imprisonment, — such it really was, — amid monks as cheerless and stupid as they were superstitious. "Yet," says Abbot William, "at first hesitating, but weighing the matter continually, and thinking it over and over, he consented to the change, on condition that his wife were willing. But this contingency seemed scarcely possible to a young woman of noble birth, the mother of several daughters, at that time of tender age." But Bernard, nothing daunted at the difficulty, tenderly promised Guido that "his wife would soon consent or die." To bring about one of these pleasant alternatives, "the Lord gave the husband this manly counsel, that he should abjure all he seemed to have in the world, lead a rustic life, earning with his own hands the subsistence of himself and wife, whom it was not lawful for him to divorce against her will." This ingenious counsel, so pleasantly attributed to the Holy Ghost, succeeded like a charm. The wife very naturally fell sick, and remembering the prediction, and finding "how hard it was to kick against the pricks," begged Bernard's forgiveness, and promised all that he required of her. Accordingly she was separated from her husband, and took the usual conventual vow, which she kept "until this day," says the Abbot, for he wrote while she and Bernard were both still living.

The other brother, Gerhard, still held out, "and loved the world." "Nothing but suffering will ever convince you," said Bernard. "But the day is coming," continued he, putting his finger on his brother's side, "and it comes quickly, when the lance plunged in your breast, shall open to your heart a way for my counsels, which now you despise." "No sooner said than done," proceeds the biographer, "for after a few days, he

was wounded in just the spot marked by the priestly finger, and taken prisoner besides. Then, fearing death, he exclaimed, "I am a monk, a Cistercian monk." Bernard was sent for to comfort him in prison. But he refused to go, saying, he "knew all this before, and the wound was not unto death, but unto life." And "it was even so," for, contrary to expectation, the wound healed of a sudden. However, he was still a captive, and kept closely in ward. But one day, as he grew continually more and more desirous of the monastic life, he heard a voice more than mortal, as he lay wakeful in his dungeon, saying to him, "This day shalt thou be set free," and about night-fall, by accident, as it were, he felt of his chains, and they fell off his hands with a heavy clank; still the door was shut, and a crowd of beggars stood before it, not to mention the guards. But the bar fell back, and the door opened at his approach. The beggars, astonished at the prodigy, fled without speaking. It was the hour of evening prayers when he drew nigh the church, walking slowly, for some of the chains still clung to him. Bernard espied his brother, and said; "Brother Gerhard, have you come? There is still something left that you may hear." But "his eyes were holden, so that he did not know what was going on," until Bernard led him into the church. "Thus was he freed from captivity and love of the world."

After this, Bernard "went to and fro upon the earth, and walked up and down in it," seeking to bring souls into the monastic-fold. He compelled many to come in. His word was so taking, his eloquence so persuasive, — for he knew the way equally to the heart of the clown and the courtier, — that when he was to preach in public or private, wise "mothers shut up their sons at home, wives kept back their husbands from hearing, for the Holy Ghost gave such voice and power to his words, that scarce any tie could restrain those who listened." All whom he converted were, like the first Christians, "of one heart and one mind."*

* The monastic life was then held in very high esteem. Bernard calls it "a second baptism;" "it renders its professors like the angels, and unlike men." It could wash out the deepest sins. See Neander's *Heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter*, &c. Berlin. 1813. p. 1, 42, note 2. But he mentions Norbert advising Count Theobald of Champagne not to become a monk, because he was already so useful to the poor and down-trodden.

His biographer gives a glowing account of his noviciate, and holds him up as an ideal of austerity, to be looked up to and imitated by all tyros in the convents. He not only resisted the desire of the senses, but turned the senses themselves out of doors. "When, with the interior sense, he began to feel the sweetness of divine love breathe gently over him, he feared lest the secret sense within should be darkened by the senses from without, so he scarce gave them enough to keep them in being. The 'breathings of divine love' were at first but a momentary impression, but soon became a constant habit, and the habit at length, nature itself." "Absorbed entirely in the Spirit, all his hopes directed inward to God, his mind entirely occupied with spiritual meditation, seeing he saw not; hearing he heard not; eating he tasted not; and scarce felt anything with the corporeal sense. After passing a year in the noviciate's cell, he hardly knew when he went out whether it had a roof or not." This was deemed the perfection of a monk's life. He ate only to sustain the body, and knew not whether he fed on bread or stones, or whether his drink was water or wine. "He went to his dinner as to the rack." Nemesis never sleeps even in a monk's cell, so nature took sweet revenge, and racked him all his life long in every limb of his attenuated frame. However, he did two good things, and that daily. He worked hard with his hands, and walked in the woods, where he used afterwards to confess he found his best thoughts, and had no teachers but the birch trees and the oaks. "Trust my experience," he afterwards wrote to Henry of Murdoch, a celebrated teacher of speculative theology, "thou wilt find in the woods somewhat more than in books; wood and stone shall teach thee what thou canst not learn from masters."* The cheerful, though serious countenance of Nature, we should fancy, might shame even a monk into a rational life; but man outgrows nothing so reluctantly as the religious prejudice of his times, and it is given to but few to take a single step in advance of their age. But one day, while exhausted with very slight labor in reaping, Bernard felt a natural shame at the artificial weakness of his body; he turned aside, and "besought the Lord for strength," which was given, miraculously, as the Abbot thinks, and he reaped before them all.

* Boulau Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. 2, p. 162, cited in Neander, l. c. p. 45.

On entering the monastic state, he had not chosen, as many did, a cloister, where the buxom ascetics revelled in everything but self-mortification. He chose the cloister at Citeaux, a wild quarter of the bishopric of Chalons sur la Saone. The number of monks increased so rapidly, through his efforts and austere reputation, that the buildings of the establishment required to be enlarged, and new ones erected. A new cloister, also, was established in another place. This was the celebrated cloister of Clairvaux, a wild, desolate glen, formerly named the Valley of Wormwood,* on account of a den of robbers in it, as some say; but after the cloister was built, it was called Clairvaux, — the fair valley. In three years from its foundation, Bernard was appointed Abbot of Clairvaux, and ordained to that office by the famous William de Champeaux, whose skill in dialectics took nothing from the jolly roundness of his face. The spectators laughed or admired at the contrast between the bishop and the monk. Established in his new office, his example animated the whole cloister. “You might see there, a weak and languid man, solicitous for all, but careless of himself; obedient to all in all things, but scarce doing anything for himself. Not deeming his own concerns of prior importance to others, he strove chiefly to avoid sparing his own body. So he made his spiritual studies the more rigorous. His body, attenuated by various infirmities, was still more worn down by fast and watching without intermission. He prayed standing day and night, till his knees, weakened by fasting, and his feet, swollen with extreme toil, refused to sustain his body. For a long time, in secrecy he wore sackcloth next his skin, but when the fact was accidentally discovered he cast it off, and returned to his common dress. His food was bread and milk; water, in which pulse had been boiled, or such thin water gruel as men make for little children.”† Physicians who saw him, or listened to his eloquence, wondered at the strength in his emaciated frame, as much as if they had seen a lamb drawing the plough.

The monkish admirer relates that Gerhard was a sort of but-

* Nicolaus Hacqueville thus poetically celebrates the charms of the place;

Abdita vallis erat, mediis in montibus, alto
Et nemore, et viridi tunc adoperta rubo,
Hanc claram vallem merito dixere priores,
Mutarunt nomen vallis amara tuum, etc.

De Laudibus Bernardi, prefixed to his works, fol. 24, 1, of this edition.

† Vita, S. Bernardi, l. c. i. c. viii.

ler in the establishment, and as winter began to set in, he naturally, in the way of his vocation, complained of the slender provision, both in money and victuals, laid in for the season. To this complaint Bernard returned no reply. But being told, that no less a sum than eleven pounds was absolutely needed, and that for the present emergency, he sent away his brother and betook himself to prayer. While at his devotion a messenger arrives, and says that a woman stood at the gate, asking to see him. She fell down at his feet, and gave him twelve pounds to pray for her husband, then dangerously ill. "Go in peace," said Bernard to the woman, "thou shalt find thy husband safe and sound." She went home and found as he had foretold. A similar case often occurred, says William, and unexpected help came from the Lord, whenever common means failed. It is difficult to estimate the power of prejudice and superstition to blind men's eyes, but each of the then contemporary biographers of Bernard ascribes to him a similar miraculous power, and relates the wonderful cures he effected, on men, women, and children.*

Weak as Bernard was in body, and secluded from the world, in that remote valley, he yet took an active part in all the great concerns of church and state, not only in France but out of it. He was present at councils, and men journeyed from far to ask his advice. He lifted his voice indignantly to rebuke the wantonness and pride of the clergy; wantonness and pride not surpassed by the nobles of Sardanapalus's court. He declaimed with the sternest vehemence against the great, who trod the humble down into the dust. He labored to extend his own order, and still more to defend the church from the assaults of the temporal powers, no light work, nor lightly undertaken. At this time the moral state of the clergy was bad, very bad. Men of loose habits and no religion pressed into the lucrative offices of the church, through the influence of some prince or count.

* Neander tells a singular story, illustrating this peculiarity of the age. One Norbert, a rough, tempestuous, destructive personage, was once riding in a hunting expedition, and a violent storm came on. His horse was struck down by lightning, and he lay senseless nearly an hour. When he recovered, and saw how providentially he had escaped death, a shudder came over him, at the thought of his past life, from which he was so near being summoned to the bar of God, that he resolved to found a religious institution, and kept his vow, and was one of the most distinguished reformers of his age. l. c. p. 44, seq.

"Of other care they little reckoning took,
Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest."

Their office was gain. The Pope might make laws often as he listed against simony, extravagance, licentiousness, and all other clerical sins of the age; cunning men found means to break them all, and live unconcerned, or at least unmolested. The Popes themselves were partakers of their crimes. "The stench of the Roman court," says William of Paris, "rising from this dunghill of usury, robbery, and simony, went up a hateful steam, to the very clouds." The vice of the clergy reached its height about the middle of the twelfth century. In England alone, about that time, in the short space of ten or twelve years, more than a hundred murders were committed by priests. Bernard saw these monstrous evils, and labored with great diligence to reform the clergy. He censured the monks with the greatest severity.

But while engaged in this good work, if we may trust his biographer, he did not neglect the minor gifts of healing the sick, and casting out devils. We will set down some of the miraculous works ascribed to the saint by his contemporaries. In a certain monastery, called Carus-Locus, (Charlieu) he cured a boy, who wept and wailed incessantly, with a kiss. For when he had been weeping for several days, and found no help from his physicians, our holy man advised him to confess his sins. He did so, and with a serene face asked Bernard to kiss him. This also was done, and "the kiss of peace being received from the saint's face, he rested in perfect peace; the fountain of his tears was dried up, and he went back rejoicing to his friends, safe and sound."

A new Oratory was to be dedicated at Fusniacum, (Foigny,) and a great swarm of flies took possession of it, so that their noise and buzzing was very offensive to all who entered. There was no help to be had. The holy Bernard said, "I excommunicate them," and the next morning they were all found dead. This affair was so well known, that the curse upon the flies of Foigny became a proverb.*

Once, however, Bernard himself fell sick of the influenza, we should judge, and "his body failing on all hands, he was brought well nigh to death's door." "His sons and his friends

* Vita, S. Bernardi, l. c. Lib. i. c. xi.

came as it were to the funeral of so great a father, and I also was present among them," says William, "for his esteem for me gave me a place among his friends. When he seemed about to draw his last breath, as his soul was on the point of leaving the body, he seemed to himself to stand before the tribunal of the Lord. And Satan also was present, attacking him with bitter accusations. When he had brought forward all his charges, and it was time for this man of God to speak for himself, nothing daunted or disturbed in the slightest degree, he said, 'I confess I am not worthy, nor can I, of my own merits, obtain the kingdom of Heaven. But my Lord has obtained it for me, in two legitimate ways; namely, by inheritance from his Father, and by the merit of his own suffering. He is satisfied with one, and grants me the other claim. I claim it on the ground of his gift, and shall not be confounded.' At these words the enemy was put to shame, the meeting, (before the tribunal of the Lord,) broke up, and the man of God came to himself." * His recovery was no less remarkable. "The blessed Virgin appeared to him, with two companions, Saint Laurentius and Saint Benedict; they laid their hands on him, and by their pious manifestations assuaged the pain in the most afflicted parts of his body; they drove off the sickness, and all pain ceased."

Still farther, to show to what length human credulity will go, William relates gravely a miracle Bernard wrought on the historian himself. "Once upon a time, when I had long been sick in our own house, and my illness, long continued, had weakened and worn me down to a great degree, Bernard heard of it, and sent his brother, Gerhard, — a man of happy memory, — directing me to come to Clairvaux, and promising that I should be cured, or should die very soon. I set out forthwith, though with great pain and trouble, for I looked on this as an opportunity, divinely given, or at least offered, of dying with him, or of living with him some time, and I don't know which I should have then preferred. That was performed which had been promised, and, I confess it, as I wished. My health was restored from this great and dangerous infirmity, and my strength gradually returned. But, good God! what advantage did this infirmity bring me! All the time of my illness with him, his sickness wrought with my necessity, for he also was sick at that

* L. c. Lib. i. c. xi. xii.

time. We were both ill together, and he talked all day about the spiritual physic of the soul, and the remedial force of the virtues, against the weakening influence of the vices. Accordingly he discoursed to me of the Song of Songs, as far as my weakness allowed it." One day during his convalescence, he abstained from his customary food, and suffered accordingly. His pains returned with such violence that he despaired of life. Bernard came in, in the morning, and learned the cause and the result. "What would you advise me to do?" said William. "Keep quiet," said he, "you shall not die this time," and went out. And what shall I say? immediately all my pain vanished; the next day I was well again, and recovered strength, and after a few days went home, with the benediction of my kind host."*

We will now mention but one more miracle attributed to Bernard. On a certain time, "when that blessed man was coming from Laviniacum, a noble city in the bishoprick of Meldis, a deaf and dumb girl, nearly grown up, was brought to him. She was placed on the neck of his horse, and he looking up to heaven, uttered a short prayer. Then he anointed her ears and lips with saliva; blessed her, and commanded her to call on the Holy Virgin. Immediately the damsel, who had never before spoken a word, opened her mouth and cried out, saying, Sancta Maria. There was present one Roger, afterwards an ecclesiastic and monk of Clairvaux, but then in the world, and seeing this miracle wrought before his eyes, he was sharply pricked in the heart, and as he has told me, this was the chief cause that induced him to enter the cloister at Clairvaux."†

In the year of our Lord 1130, died Pope Honorius the Second, in the sixth year of his Pontificate. "In a city like Rome," says Neander, "where party spirit, ambition, and intrigues had long prevailed, where Avarice, Poverty, and Wantonness stood side by side, where a restless people and ambitious families struggled together, it was but natural the choice of a Pope should create the greatest discord and dissensions." The de-

* Beside the stories of his miracles related in the lives of Bernard, — and his life was a favorite theme, — there is a distinct treatise of his miracles. *Narratio Herberti Abbatis Coenobii Morensis de libro Miraculorum S. Bernardi*; per insigne miraculum servato. It may be found in Mabillon's Edition of Bernard, Vol. II.

† *Fragmenta ex Herberti libris de miraculis Cisterciensium monachorum.* C. 13. p. 1247. ed. Mabillon.

ceased Pope was not legally chosen, and trouble and bloodshed were avoided only by the rare self-denial of his rival, Cardinal Buccapecu. Honorius the Second had been placed in the chair by the great families of Rome, and especially by the Frangipani. At his death there were two candidates for the papacy, one the descendant of a rich Jewish usurer, who had been converted to Christianity, and had taken the name of Leo. Cardinal Gregory was supported by the opposite faction, who appointed him the very night Honorius died, pretending that such was his wish. The new Pope assumed the title of Innocent Second. Leo was proclaimed Pope by the other party, with the title of Anaclete Second. Thus there were two Popes at the same time. Innocent repeatedly declined the power that was offered him, and with many tears threw off the pontifical robes, but was at last prevailed on to accept the office, when convinced that he alone could ensure the peace and prosperity of the church in these times of trouble. Roger of Sicily declared in favor of Anaclete. But Louis Sixth of France, to whom Innocent had fled, declined at first deciding between the two competitors, until he had called a council of the Bishops. Bernard was also called to this council, and cheered by revelations and visions on his way thither. His character and reputation gave great weight to his opinion.* The affair before the council turned chiefly on the merit of the two Popes, for the question of a legal choice was little regarded by either party. Bernard declared in favor of Innocent, and by his eloquence and forcible harangue made such an impression on the council, that a unanimous vote was passed confirming the claims of Innocent to the Papal chair and its consequent infallibility. But as all the neighboring kingdoms did not readily follow the example of France, Bernard was despatched to England to persuade King Henry First to declare for Innocent. But that acute investigator doubted if the election were legal and regular in all respects, and after Bernard had cleared up that point, and found his representations were of no avail, he resorted to a device, as he often did when better weapons failed him. "You fear that if you obey Innocent as Pope you shall bring a sin upon your-

* Du Pin is mistaken when he says the *sole decision of the matter was left to him*, (*Ecclesiastical History of the 12th Century*, Ch. iv. p. 43, ed. Lond. 1698,) and in making the Pope *post thither* (to France,) *with all diligence*, after the King's declaration. He went there before.

self. Let this rather be your only concern, to answer before God for all your *other* sins; *leave this sin to me, I will take it upon myself.*" And the word of the venerable man was sufficient to quiet his scruples.* Bernard then accompanied the new Pope in a journey through the greater part of France, "strengthening the churches."

At this time Lothaire of Saxony, and Conrad of the Swabian family, — so hateful to the Popes, — were contending for the crown of Germany. The former Pope had acknowledged Lothaire, and both of the rival Popes, recognising their predecessor's infallibility, declared in favor of Lothaire. He was indeed addressed by the Roman friends of Anaclete, but took no notice of their letter, for his chief Bishops had already given in their adhesion to Innocent. To quiet these difficulties, or rather to strengthen the papal hands, Innocent went to Germany. Bernard accompanied him, serving the cause by his eloquence and activity. When he preached, the audience was melted into tears, even though they did not understand the language in which he spoke. This event often happened. At Lüttich the Pope and Emperor first met, the latter surrounded by his great men, "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal." He dismounted, walked through the assembly, took the Pope's horse by the bridle with one hand, and holding in the other the staff of defence for the church, conducted the pontiff to the church. Here, after mentioning the many evils the Empire had borne for the church, he touched upon the right of investiture, so long a subject of controversy between them, and of course maintained his own claims. But Bernard set forth in such glowing colors the injustice of his demand, that he receded, leaving this important right in the hands of the Pope.† This signal service of the holy abbot was never forgot. Innocent and Lothaire separated in perfect harmony.‡ The next year, after Bernard and the Pope had passed through several

* Vita S. Bernardi Auctore Ernaldo, etc. Lib. ii. c. i. and Neander, p. 72, sq.

† See on this point an extract from Echart's quaternis vet, monument, p. 46, in Gieseler's Eccles. History. Am. ed. Vol. ii. p. 182, note I.

‡ Lothaire, it seems, was little better than a puppet for the Pope. He received his crown *on his knees, as a feudal investiture* from the Pope, and so became the vassal of the church. The Pope caused a painting to be made of this imperial genuflection, with the following inscription beneath it. REX HOMO FIT PAPAE. See Wolfgang Menzel's Geschichte der Deutschen, etc. 3d ed. 1837. Cap. 199, p. 284, sq.

districts of France, had quieted the discontented, and reconciled the hostile, and held a council at Rheims, Lothaire conducted Innocent to Rome, and entering by violence into the city, was crowned by that Pope. But Anaclete's party was still strong in the metropolis, and Innocent fled to Pisa, which was near both to France and Germany, and where his friends were powerful enough to protect him.

The letter of Bernard to the Pisans is a curious monument of the spirit of the age. "May the Lord bless you and remember the faithful service and pious compassion, and consolation, which you have shown, and still continue to show, toward the spouse of his Son, in an evil time, and in the days of her affliction. This is already in part fulfilled, and some fruit of my prayer is already in our hands. A worthy recompense shall soon remunerate you. God rewards thee for thy works, Oh nation, whom he hath chosen as an heritage to himself, an acceptable nation, zealous of good works. Pisa is taken in the place of Rome, and is chosen out of all cities of the earth, as the place of the apostolic seat. This has not happened by any human chance, or counsel, but by the celestial providence and divine favor of God, who loves those that love him, and has said to Christ his friend Innocent, (*Christo suo Innocentio*) Dwell thou in Pisa, and blessing, I will bless it. Inhabit there since I have chosen it. By my counsel, the constancy of the Pisans yields not to the wickedness of the Sicilian tyrant, nor is shaken by his threats, nor corrupted by his gifts, nor circumvented by his frauds. Oh men of Pisa, men of Pisa, God hath done greatly for you; we are made joyful. What city does not envy you! Keep what is committed to thee, faithful city; acknowledge the favor; seek to be found not ungrateful for the privilege. Honor the father of thyself and all; honor the chiefs of the world who are in thee, and the judges of the earth whose presence renders thee illustrious, glorious, famous."*

Bernard thus wrought diligently for the head of the church, both in person and by his many letters. The inhabitants of Milan had been fast friends to Anaclete. The city was one of his strong-holds. It had espoused the party of Conrad. And Anselm, the metropolitan Bishop, strenuously opposed Innocent, though some of the clergy had taken his part. This disagreement among the clergy led to many evils, and a certain

* Epist. 130. Ed. Mabillon.

time was appointed by the magistrates to settle the matter between the parties. On the day appointed, a large body of men, dressed in coarse and undyed woollen garments, their heads shaven in an unusual fashion, appeared in the place of meeting. They were men more or less connected with the Cistercian order of monks, and of course were friends to Bernard and Innocent. "These men," said Anselm to the hostile Bishops, "these men are heretics." But it would not do; the people regarded them as angels of light, and he was no longer looked on as the head and bishop of the diocese. Messengers were sent to bring Bernard himself, "the last of the fathers," the great pacificator. He came; the result was wonderful, and is thus described by a contemporary. "When the inhabitants of Milan heard that the well-beloved abbot was drawing nigh to their borders, all the people went out to meet him seven miles from the city. Noble and vulgar, horse and foot, rich and poor, as if migrating from the city, left their homes, and arranged in regular order, received the Man of God, with incredible reverence. All were delighted to see him; they judged themselves happy who could hear him speak, and they kissed his feet. They pulled threads out of his garments, and took whatever thread they could from the hem of his garments, (*de pannorum laciniis*,) as remedies for sickness, counting as sacred whatever he had touched, and thinking that they also should be made holy by using or touching any of those things." *

Here he allayed all the strife and settled the difficulties as usual. Nor was this all. Landulf, the younger, an eyewitness, thus speaks of his work. "At a nod from him all sorts of church apparel, that was of gold or silver, because disagreeable to the abbot, were shut up in presses. Men and women put on garments of hair, or the coarsest wool; water was changed into wine. Devils were cast out and the sick healed. The abbot loosed the bonds of the captives taken by the Milanese, and restored them to freedom. And by an oath he made them take, he bound this great people in love to the Emperor Lothaire, and obedience to the Pope." †

One day, continues Ernaldus, the people, knowing "that he obtained whatever he chanced to ask of the Lord, brought to him, nothing doubting, a woman; a woman known to all of

* *Vita S. Bernard*, l. c. Lib. ii. Ch. ii.

† Landulf cited in Neander, p. 83, sq.

them, and whom an unclean spirit had vexed seven years, suppliantly asking him, in the name of the Lord, to put the devil to flight, and restore the woman to health." He blushed a little as they persisted, but thought he might offend God if he declined doing so good a work. Thinking within himself, he concluded it would be a sign to the unbelieving, "so he committed his enterprise to the Holy Ghost," and kneeling in prayer, put the devil to rout, in the spirit of fortitude, and gave back the woman safe and sound. "The noise of this affair soon went abroad, and suddenly it filled all the city; and through the churches, the camps, (prætoria,) and all the public streets, they came thronging together. Every body was talking about the Man of God. It was stated in public that nothing was impossible which he asked of God. They say and believe, they preach and confirm it, that the ears of God are open to his prayers. They could not be satisfied with seeing and hearing him. Some rushed into his presence; others took their stations before the doors until he should go out. Men left business and trade; all the city was in suspense on this spectacle. They rush together; they beg to be blest, and some seem to have been healed by touching him."* He healed a woman deaf, dumb, and blind, and possessed of a devil, in the presence of a great multitude, by going up to the house with the Host in his hand, and adjuring the devil, in the name of God, to leave the woman.

We will not weary the patience of our readers with more details. The few we have given mark an age of credulity, when a sharp distinction was not made between the miraculous and the natural; when the effects of imagination, of a strong will, or sensitive nerves, were less understood than now, and when "wonders" were expected of each very holy man. Where they are expected or looked for they always come. The history of trials for witchcraft might lead a philosopher to ponder deeply the natural law of testimony. There is no doubt that these monks believed Bernard wrought surprising miracles.† No doubt he himself believed that he wrought them, for he often mentions the fact, but without any vain glory. His biographer relates with surprise that he never grew vain of his powers, "never walked above himself in wonder-

* L. c. C. ii.

† Even Fenelon believed these miracles, and cites them as proofs of the power of God. See his "Sermon pour la fête de Saint Bernard," in his *Occursis*. Paris. 1822. Tom. iii. pp. 196 - 219.

ful things, but judging humbly of himself, thought he was not the author of these venerable works, but only their minister, and when in the opinion of all he was the greatest, in his own opinion he was the least." This latter statement is not strictly true, for the vice of pride had entered into his soul, and his ambition and love of power knew no bounds. His hatred of those who stood in his way was cruel and remorseless, as we shall soon see.

After he had finished his work in Italy Bernard returned to Clairvaux. But the fame of his greatness went before him as he passed the Alps. "The herdsmen and boors came down from their rocks to see him, and after receiving his blessing, turned back joyful to their rude dwellings." His monks received him with no less joy. They fell down before him and embraced his knees; they rose up and kissed him, and in this manner conducted him to the cloister. Here, during his long absence from Clairvaux, "the Devil could effect nothing. No mildew had gathered on the pure minds therein, and the house of God, founded on a rock, was in no part shaken." "No quarrels had been kept for his coming, and no long-nursed hatred broke out in his presence." The young did not accuse the old of austerity, nor did the old accuse the young of remissness, "but they were all found of one accord, in the house of God; in holiness and peace ascending the ladder of Jacob, and hastening up to look on God, whose delectable countenance shone in the upper realm. The abbot, not unmindful of him who said, I saw Satan falling as lightning from heaven, was the more humble and submissive to God as he saw that God was propitious to his desires. Nor did he rejoice because the devils were subject to him, but rather he rejoiced in the Lord, because he saw the names of his brethren were written in heaven."

But the difficulties of the times would not suffer the strong and active spirit of Bernard to remain idle or contemplative at Clairvaux, "bemoaning his own sins." New troubles called him forth again. William the Ninth of Aquitaine and Poitou, espousing the part of Anaclete, deposed all the bishops of the province who were hostile to him. Bishop Godfrey of Chartres went with Bernard to visit the rebellious prince. He was a rough layman who knew no reason for following one Pope more than the other, but had taken a solemn oath never to be reconciled with the degraded bishops. Bernard attempted for

a long time to bring the Baron to reason ; but his efforts were fruitless. So he went into the church to celebrate high mass. The Prince, who had been excommunicated, did not venture in, but stood without at the door. Bernard consecrated and transubstantiated the bread and wine ; gave his blessing to the people, and then, with fiery countenance and flaming eyes, and threatening look, "bearing on a platter the bread just changed to the body of Christ," went out to the Prince, and said to him, "in terrible words," "We have entreated and you have despised us. The multitude of God's servants united has besought you in two meetings, and you have mocked at them. So now comes to you the Son of the Virgin, the Head and Lord of the Church, which you persecute. Here is thy Judge, at whose name every knee shall bow, of things celestial and terrestrial, and things under the earth. Here is thy Judge, into whose hands thy soul will come. Will you despise Him also? Will you despise Him, as you have despised his servants?" The Prince was overcome ; he fell like one lifeless on the ground. His servants raised him up. Bernard ordered him to rise upon his feet ; to be reconciled with the bishops of Poitiers ; to give him the kiss of peace, and yield to Pope Innocent. The humbled prince did as he was commanded, and thus peace was restored to a whole province.

This event is characteristic of the middle ages, — the presumption of the priest, and the folly of the prince. Bernard was the most powerful man in Europe ; though but an ecclesiastic, without money, or lands, or soldiers, or powerful connexions, by the might of his spirit alone, this emaciated monk kept the wide world in awe. He tamed rough barons ; said to kings, thus far and no farther. It was mainly through his influence, that Innocent kept possession of the papal chair. He reconciled Conrad with Lothaire. A third time he was called to Rome, by the Pope, whom German arms once more established in the capital, though here he held only divided empire. He attempted to reconcile the two papal parties without loss of blood, and had a convenient formula, wherewith to remove any oaths, that interfered with his plans. "Alliances hostile to the law can never be confirmed by an oath, for God's law renders them of no avail." He went to Roger, king of Sicily, on the eve of a battle, hoping to divert that prince from assisting Anaclete. This effort was vain ; but after Roger had lost the battle he consented to decide between the two popes, on condition that

their respective claims were laid before him. So on a set day Roger arrayed himself in his robes of state, and sat down to hear the conflicting parties. The cardinals of the two popes appeared as counsel. On the side of Anaclete, the chief speaker was Cardinal Peter, of Pisa, a man well skilled in dialectics and the canon law. Bernard, of course, was the foremost in favor of Innocent. Bernard's chief argument was this ; There is no salvation out of the true Church ; the legal pope is head of the true Church. Now almost all the western churches have declared Innocent to be that head, and it is more likely they should be in the right, since they all agree, than it is that Roger, a single layman, is alone right, for God would not suffer so many to go astray, and be damned eternally, while one only, and he a layman, was saved. Cardinal Peter was convinced by the logical skill and eloquence of his opponent, and was soon reconciled to Innocent, for it would be quite unfair to suppose, the offers of power, and wealth, thrown privately into the scale, had the slightest weight in the dialectic balance of this cardinal, so well versed in the canon law. Roger still held out, but luckily Anaclete died soon after, (1138,) and when his friends appointed Victor the Third his successor, Bernard had the hardihood to beard the lion in his den, and ask the new pope to renounce his budding honors ; and still more, he had the address to succeed in the attempt. Victor went and fell down at Innocent's feet, and did him homage. Peace was thus restored to the Church. Years of war and thousands of lives were saved, by the force of this poor monk. The public gratitude did not loiter behind such signal merit. The people received him everywhere with shouts. Men and women escorted him in processions from place to place. But, his work done, he returned again to the quiet repose, and mystical devotion of Clairvaux, to retire into himself, and write letters to the ends of the world.

But the repose of this "Dog of the Church," was never very deep, or of long continuance. The Church was always in trouble. Bishops quarrelled with one another, or a priest took a wife ; a lord sold a benefice, or a monk went back to the cottage or the camp, and the burden of the Church fell on Bernard. We must pass over the troubles occasioned by nobles pressing uncalled for into ecclesiastical offices, and by the wickedness of the clergy, to come to the remarkable quarrel between Bernard and Abelard.

So long as ignorance lowered dark and heavy on the middle ages, there was no doubt of the Church's doctrine. Then nothing opposed the ecclesiastical sway, but the Flesh and the Devil, — ambitious and wicked men. The Church was in advance of the world, and the little light by which men walked came mainly from the Church itself. But there is no monopoly of truth, and least of all can the whole of wisdom be appropriated by a body of men, however pious and thoughtful, who resolve to accept nothing, which was not admitted by their fathers, centuries before. So when light began to dawn on the world once more, and the clouds to withdraw their heavy folds, and the noble army of Greek and Roman sages or poets to come out of their recesses, men began to doubt, for the first time, whether all moral, philosophical, and religious truth were contained in the dogmas of the Church. These doubts came from the wisest and best men of the age. Thus the Church was assaulted not only by its old enemies, the Flesh and the Devil, with whom it knew how to contend, but also by the Spirit and the Holy Ghost, against whom some new device was to be tried. Men, wiser and holier than the Church itself, rose up, — often coming from its own bosom, — and opened their dark sayings. Hence arose two parties; one stood on authority, and adhered strictly to the old theological formulas; and if they could not find expressed therein the sum of wisdom which they sought, they found it by implication. A few of the latter sort of this class, calling a certain capricious mysticism to their aid, succeeded marvellously in their work. They were the conservatists of that time, and dealt out with a lavish hand the thunders of the Church, and its fire and faggots too, against all who dared look forward. The other party, few in numbers, but often mighty in talents, relied on no authority, however great and good. They referred all to the human soul, or rather to the Spirit of God in the soul of man. Hence they deduced their doctrines, and hereby they formed the dogmas they accepted. To them, philosophy was more than history. They might not disagree with the creed of the Church, in whose bosom they sometimes continued all their life long, but their starting point, their new method, their spirit differed entirely from that of the Church. This party was inclined to rationalism, as the other was to a vicious sort of mysticism. Yet there were genuine mystics and religious men in either sect. It would be instructive, as well as curious, to trace the gradual

growth of Protestantism in the middle age, — coincident as it was with the spread of light, — but we forbear.*

Abelard would be prominent in any period of the world's history; but in the twelfth century he towers above his contemporaries like a colossus. He went back to the human soul, and from that he attempted to prove the truth of his doctrines, knowing well, that while men rested on truths that were elementary and universal, even if they should doubt the Scriptures, and deny the Church, they would still be religious, useful to their fellows, and acceptable to God. Besides, he saw Credulity confounded with Faith, and Superstition mistaken for vital Piety. His aim was to unite reason and religion. He denied, that we can form an adequate conception of God, or express his nature, in words.† He attempted to explain the Trinity in a manner sufficiently orthodox, if that mystery is to be explained at all, and the profound truth it covers, but too often conceals, also is to be pointed out and explained. He denied free-will to God, in the sense we apply that term to man, who, from his weakness and wickedness, must decide between conflicting desires. He found virtue like Christian excellence, among the heathen also, who, as well as the Jews, received revelations, and sometimes had power to work miracles. But the doctrines of the Church forbid the free action of his mind in this direction, and so he concluded that baptism was necessary to salvation and the forgiveness of sins, though the man lived a life never so divine. But he dwelt with great delight on the virtue of some of the heathens, and with the obvious design of shaming the hideous sin of the clergy in his own day. He judged virtue by its motives, not by its actions; defined sin as voluntary action opposed to God's law. He spoke with the greatest indignation against those men, who were frightened by fear of hell, and after a life of sin, repenting on their death-bed, left money got by crime, that priests, wicked as themselves, and hypocrites besides, might say masses for their souls. He denied the false or alleged miracles of his time, though he admitted the Christian miracles in full.

* Among those who contributed most powerfully, directly or remotely to this, may be named Scotus Erigena, Gerbert, (afterwards Pope Sylvester II.,) Berenger, or Berengarius of Tours. (See Lessing's *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. XX.), Lanfranc, Roscelin, Anselm, and Abelard.

† To judge from his remarks on this point, there seems to be a striking similarity between him and Hegel.

Such a man could not want for opponents. His philosophical opinions, his Christian zeal, which sometimes out-travelled his discretion, still more, his tendency to call sin, *sin*, and his violent invectives against vice and hollowness raised up for him a host of enemies. The timid feared, the wicked hated him. But we are now concerned with Abelard, only so far as he comes into the history of Bernard. The first persecution* of Abelard, — and in which Bernard took an active part, — arose, like many others, from personal, and not ecclesiastical jealousy. Albric and Lotulf, rival professors at Rheims, brought two charges against him; that he, a monk, engaged in secular studies; the other, that he taught theology, which he had never learned “from the great doctors of the age,” and without a regular theological education. Their complaints were brought before the Council of Soissons (1121), where his obnoxious book (*de Theologia*) was to be explained. The matter was referred to a greater council, at Paris. Here, to quell the alarm, Abelard threw his offensive book into the fire, knowing well that this act would recoil upon his enemies. He withdrew to a cloister. But the public condemned his opponents, and he soon returned in triumph to Paris, renewed his teachings and attacks on the wicked lives of the monks. But, getting weary of this work, — as hopeless as to pick up all the sands of Sahara, — and, desiring leisure to think far down into the deep of things, he retired to solitude once more. Here he lived in poverty and want. But pupils came to be taught. The neighborhood was filled with young men. A great enthusiasm, wide and deep, broke out in his favor. His doctrines spread far and wide. The watch-dog of the Church awoke from his brief slumbers at Clairvaux, and began his threatening growl. Bernard, — the Napoleon of the twelfth century, — was more formidable than all other opponents, bishops, and councils. To escape the imminent danger, Abelard accepted the post of Abbot in Brittany. But he could not be silent, and here likewise his hateful doctrines were taught, and rumors of Abelard’s fame went up like a cloud, and extended to Clairvaux. Bernard “eyed him” as “Saul eyed David.” He warned him, in letters, to change his “manner of theologizing,” and on all occasions cautioned Abelard’s pupils against the poison of their

* The opposition of Walter de Mauritania does not deserve so harsh a name.

master's doctrines. He was not a man to sit quietly down and thus suffer dictation, though from "the first man in the century." He expressed a willingness to look Bernard in the face, and argue the matter in the synod of Sens (1140), before an assembly of the first men of the nation. He called on his thousands of scholars to come and witness his triumph. But Bernard declined entering the lists with the first dialectician of the age. He knew what he was about, — the artful monk. So he cunningly wrote, — that precursor of the Jesuits, — "he would not make the articles of faith matters of dispute." No. They rested on authority, which was abandoned soon as he came down into a fair field. He wished his opponent's doctrines to be compared with the "standards" of the only infallible Church. Thus the accused was condemned by implication, and without a hearing. But it is easy to gainsay such a swift verdict of condemnation, and Abelard's reputation rose higher even than before. His scholars boasted, that even Bernard dared not venture into the arena with their master. So became necessary for the Abbot of Clairvaux to make a regular attack, and risk a defeat, or else leave his rival master of the field. So he came to the council. The king was present, and the most eminent bishops, abbots, and clergymen in general, men over whom Bernard's authority was almost despotic. Abelard knew a fair hearing would not be allowed him. Bernard was resolved to give him no chance for it, and laid before the council a list of passages, carefully culled from Abelard's works, and flanked by the conflicting doctrines of the Church. He then called on the accused to recant, or defend the passages. Abelard was silent, and the council pronounced the obnoxious sentences heretical. But before they could take the next step, and condemn the *man* as a heretic, he appealed to the pope. No sooner was this done, than Bernard wrote letters to the pope, and the nobles of Rome, to prejudice their minds against the alleged heretic. In these letters, as in the statement made to the council, Bernard either intentionally misrepresented, or atrociously misunderstood Abelard *; charged upon

* See Epist. 187 - 194. He condemns the works of Abelard, viz.; *Theologia*, *Liber Sententiarum*, and *Nosce Teipsum*. He calls his opponent many hard names, an Arian, a Pelagian, a Nestorian, "a Herod at home, and a Saint John abroad." "In all things that are in Heaven above, &c., he sees only himself." "A fabricator of lies." Epist. 327 - 338. Abbot William fears the treatise, *sic et non*, is "mon-

him doctrines he never taught, and twisted sentences into a form different from the original. Bernard had great influence at the Roman court. The Church was afraid of Philosophy. The result was, that the passages obnoxious to Bernard were judged heretical; the author was pronounced a heretic, and forbidden to teach the obnoxious doctrines. All who adhered to them were excommunicated. Thus was he condemned, through the jealousy of one man, without any proof that the obnoxious passages were contained in his writings, or that they would not bear a different interpretation, and without asking if the author could not reconcile them with the orthodox faith. *All* his heretical doctrines were condemned, but no care was taken to specify *which* were heretical. Bernard's conduct in this affair justifies fully the sharp and bitter censure of Bayle and others, whom he follows. "It is certain, that he had very great talents, and a great deal of zeal; but some pretend, that his zeal made him too jealous of those, who acquired a great name through the study of human learning, and they add, that his mild and easy temper rendered him too credulous when he heard any evil reported of these learned persons. It is difficult to imagine he was free from human passions, when he made it his business to cause all that seemed heterodox to him, to be overwhelmed with anathemas. But it is very easy to conceive, that his good reputation, and the ardor wherewith he prosecuted the condemnation of his adversaries, surprised the judges, and made the accused persons sink under the weight of these irregular proceedings." "They do not do him justice, who call him only a hound, or a mastiff dog; he ought, in some sense, to be compared to Nimrod, and styled *a mighty hunter before the Lord.*"

Abelard's scholars, — especially the young and enthusiastic part of them, — defended their master, with the keen wit and exquisite sarcasm, for which the French were remarkable, even then. But the philosopher himself, weary of conflict, worn down by repeated calamities, yielded to the tide of trouble, and became reconciled with the Argus of the Church. He offered to strike out of his works whatever offended Orthodox ears, and to renounce both his school and his study.

This reconciliation, — as men call it, — was effected by Pe-

strous in doctrine as it is in name." See also Bernardi Opuscula, especially the "Tract concerning the errors of Peter Abelard," sometimes put among his letters as, Epist. 190.

ter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, who received Abelard into his establishment, where, and at the more healthy cloister of Chalons sur la Saone, he spent the brief and bitter remnant of his days, and ended a life, at once the brightest and most sad that appears in the middle ages. Few men have been so often misjudged and abused as he. Fate seemed to pursue him with a fiery sword, and the furies, — Ambition, Hatred, Fear, — to scourge him with their bloody, scorpion whip, through life. Bernard rejoiced that he had reduced that eloquent voice to silence, and restored tranquillity to the churches! So the old Romans, after they had desolated a province, “proclaimed peace, when they had made only solitude.” But, though he went where the wicked cease from troubling, his spirit passed into the ages, and lives even now. It is an easy thing to kill a man, or to shut him up in a cloister, especially if he is old, or constitutionally timid. To burn a heretic is no difficult matter, for the weakest princes have, perhaps, burned the most. But to suppress heresy, to stay thought, or stop truth thereby, the world has not found so easy. Bernard could cut off the hydra’s head; but others sprouted anew. What was personal in Abelard died, or faded out of the public mind. But the scorn of whatever is false; the love of truth; the desire of a divine life, burnt in many a young heart, like a fire in the forest, and would not be put down.

Arnold of Brescia was among these. The corruption of the clergy, the strife between the emperors and the popes, the increasing study of the Roman law, the general advance of knowledge, all favored his design of founding a true Church on the earth, which could offer no bribes, and claim no secular power. He fell back on primitive Christianity, and preached it with a soul of fire. He held up to shame the conduct and life of the clergy. At Bernard’s suggestion, he was excommunicated and condemned to a cloister. He refused to make his peace, as his master had done, and finding few disposed to enforce the papal sentence, went to Zurich, where even the bishop tolerated him. Guido a Castellis, though the pope’s legate, received him kindly, and took little heed to Bernard’s admonitory letters. After the death of Innocent the Third, Arnold repaired to Rome, and made “no small stir” among the people. But we pass over all this, and the troubles about the popes, and come down to the crusade, and the administration of Eugene the Third, — the friend and pupil of Bernard.

Celestine the Second, the successor of Innocent, filled the papal chair but four months. Lucian the Second, the next pope, lived but a short time after his election, and when Eugene the Third was elected, the confusion at Rome forced him to take refuge in Viterbo, where he speedily excommunicated Arnold, no doubt to the great satisfaction of his old persecutor. Bernard wrote letters to the Romans, exhorting them to receive Eugene as their father. But these falling fruitless to the ground, he tried Conrad, his old enemy, exhorting him to revenge the Pope. "Gird on the sword. Give to yourself, as Cæsar, what is Cæsar's, and to God, what is God's." "God forbid," says he, "that the power of the nation, the insolence of the rabble should hold out a moment before the eyes of the monarch." Bernard exerted himself with all his might to sustain his friend in the chair of the Church. Meantime a great event was gathering, in the future, and coming near at hand. The mountain once produced a mouse, as the story goes; but here, several mice produced a mountain. The occasion of this crusade was as follows; Louis the Seventh of France felt some natural compunctions of conscience for the cruelties he had been guilty of in the war against Theobald of Champagne. He hoped to efface the old crime, by engaging in a new war, at the command of the Church, and thus wash the old blood from his hands, in the fresh stream of so many lives. A crusade, in the twelfth century, — it stirred men's hearts, as a line of gas packets to the moon would do in our day. We know not who first proposed the new enterprise, but Bernard caught readily at the idea, and called in the pope to summon all Christendom to the work. Eugene the Third knew as well as Lord Chatham, that when a brilliant war burns in the distance, men will not look at grievances they suffer at home. So he readily favored a plan, which would strengthen his own hands.

At that day it was easy to raise armies. Especially was it easy to raise armies for a crusade. There have always been sinners enough in the world; sinners, too, who wished their guilt might be wiped off all at once, and they be cleansed of their old leprosy without trouble, by a single plunge into the Jordan. The pope promised that all sins, however great, however numerous and deeply ingrained, should be all wiped out for those who engaged in the crusade, on condition that they repented, — which was easily done, and cost nothing, — and joined the expedition with good motives.

A council was held on Easter-day. But the castle at Bezelay, where it met, would not hold the retainers of the church militant. The assembly adjourned to a field. Here the king appeared on a stage, with the sign of the cross on his back. Bernard was beside him, and addressing the multitude, he poured out such a molten tide of words, eloquent and persuasive, that the assembly yielded to his counsels, and shouted, till all rung again, — **TO THE CROSS, TO THE CROSS.** Meanwhile, — says the monkish chronicler, — the holy Abbot wrought miracles more plenteous than ever. Miracles became the order of the day, almost of the hour; for not only “was no day without its miracle;” but “one day he wrought twenty. Men, blind from their birth, received sight; the lame walked; men withered up became fresh again at his word; the dumb spake; the deaf heard, divine grace supplying what nature lacked.” Bernard’s zeal burned like a rocket, kindling as it rose. He declaimed with fiery eloquence, and wrote letters, and preached, and watched, and fasted, and prayed, to a degree almost exceeding belief. But the most attenuated body sometimes becomes powerful under the pressure of a giant will. He labored with good effect; for he soon writes in triumph to the pope; “The cities and castles are getting empty, and seven women can scarcely find one man; wives are widowed while their husbands are yet alive!” A great assembly once demanded Bernard himself as the leader of the host; but the wily monk knew how to make excuses. “It is too foreign to my holy office;” precious scruple, of a man who preached and got up the whole affair. He journeyed through France, fanning the flame. In the neighborhood of the Rhine, he found one Ralph, an ignorant monk, who had excited many to murder the Jews, thinking, no doubt, he did great honor to Jesus by slaying the poor remnant of that nation, which produced the Bible, both Old Testament and New Testament, and gave birth to the Saviour, and the “mother of God.” Bernard, to his praise be it spoken, thought it better to convert the Jews than to kill them; and really, monk as he was, took sides with the oppressed race.

Conrad, — the German Emperor, — was averse to the crusade, and for the best reason. Bernard must attempt to bring him over, and here the greatness of his influence and the triumph of his genius are seen in all their lustre. He had an interview with Conrad, and the result was unfavorable. He gave

up the attempt for the moment, and waited his time. But on Christmas day, after settling some difficulties, and healing some dissensions among the great men of Germany, he exhorted the nobles and emperor to the work. Three days later, in private, he advised the emperor to accept so easy a penance, and wash out his many sins. Soon after, he celebrated the mass before the court, and unexpectedly delivered a sermon relating to the crusade. At the end of the ceremony, he went to the emperor, in the church. He addressed him as though he was a private man; described the last judgment, and the consternation of a man unable to give God an answer, if he had not done his best. He spoke of Conrad's blessings, his wealth, power, strength of body and mind. Conrad burst into tears, and sobbed forth, "I am ready to serve him. He himself exhorts me." A scream of joy followed, from all who filled the Church. Bernard took a consecrated banner from the altar, and placed it in Conrad's hands, and the work was done.*

After the crusade was fairly on its feet, and the last straggler of the army was out of sight, Bernard returned to his cloister, and his old work, hunting heretics; and no English squire ever loved to unearth an otter, better than the good Abbot to scent a heretic, and drive him out of the Church. He found no lack of employment in this agreeable occupation. The spirit of Abelard was not yet laid. It stood in the background of the Church, and made mouths at the crusade; nay, at orthodoxy itself. Protean in its nature, it assumed all manner of forms, most frightful to Catholic believers. The metaphysics of the Trinity opened a wide field for philosophical inquiry and speculation. The Cerberus of Heresy bayed loud at the Church. Nominalism, realism, and scholasticism, all were at feud, and each engendered its band of heretics. Among these was Gilbert of Poitiers, — often called Porretanus, — a man allied to Abelard by a kindred love of philosophy, but differing widely from his conclusions. Though a bishop, he was soon accused before the pope, and Bernard was easily put upon the scent. He accused Gilbert in a council at Paris, but he found more than

* The following sentence, from his appeal to the German nation, is curious, and a fair specimen of his style of address. "The earth trembles and quakes because the God of Heaven is afraid he shall lose his land; his land, I say, where the Word of the Heavenly Father was affianced for more than twenty years, teaching and conversing with men, — his land, glorified by his miracles, sanctified by his blood," &c.

his equal, for Gilbert could "parry, pass and ward," and was well skilled in the dazzling fence of dialectics. He would not be silent, like Abelard; he had all the weapons of logic at command; could quote councils and fathers readily as the pater-noster or decalogue, and, what was still more important in that crisis, *his friends and pupils were great men*; some of them cardinals, who, however, were fearful of offending Bernard. The whole affair was referred to the great council at Rheims. When the dispute had outlasted the patience of the pope and the cardinals, the latter said, "We will now decide." Where-upon Bernard, fearing the result, hastily collected his friends, telling them, that "Gilbert must be put down." So they drew up a paper, condemning him, and sent it to the pope, for whom it was a cake of the right leaven. But the cardinals were very justly offended because the pope had violated justice, and preferred the opinion of one man to the united council. The head of the Church knew not which way to turn. Bernard was called in to end the troubles. He reconciled Gilbert, who shook hands with his foes, and went home in greater honor than ever before.

He, who begins to pursue heretics, finds his work increase before him. In the twelfth century, there were men in no small number, whom the Church could not feed. They turned away from cold abstractions and lifeless forms, to warm and living love for man and God; they shrunk away from the contaminating breath of emaciated monks, and ambitious cardinals, to fresh and glowing nature, which still reflected the unfading goodness of the Infinite. These were men, who took what was good, where they could find it, and so found manna even in the wilderness. They were content to sit on the brink of the well of Truth, and watch the large, silent faces of the stars reflected from its tranquil deeps, which they did not ruffle, while they drew life from its waters; men, whose inward eye once opened by the Holy Ghost, could never again be closed, but ever looked upwards and right on, for Light and Life. These men might be branded as heretics, scourged in the market-place for infidelity, or burned at high noon for atheism. The natural man does not understand the things of the Spirit. They had too much religion to be understood by their contemporaries; they were too far above them for their sympathy, too far before them for their comprehension. No doubt these men were often mistaken, fanatical; their minds overclouded, and their hearts filled with

bigotry. Still, it is in them that we find the religion of the age. The veriest tyro in ecclesiastical history knows, that the true life of God in the soul, from the third century downwards, has displayed itself out of the established Church, and not in it. It would be both curious and instructive to trace the growth of Protestantism from Paul down to Luther, and notice the various phases it assumed, of mysticism or rationalism, as the heart or the head uttered the protest, and consider the treatment it met with from men of a few good rules, of much ambition, and little elevation of character. The mass of men is too often eager to punish both such as loiter in the rear, and such as hurry in the front, — especially the latter. Perhaps this contagion of heresy, this epidemic of non-conformity, like Christianity itself, came from the East, where every religion that has taken a strong hold in the heart has had its home. The Gnostics and Manicheans, and men of mere mystical piety, for whom the blind orthodoxy of the Church offered little attraction, these men fattened the Christian soil with their blood, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Their bones fell still more abundantly in the two ages that followed. But, in countries where Christianity was newly introduced, the obnoxious sects took root, and flourished. The tumults of the tenth century brought them to Italy, France, and Germany. Heresy spread like the plague, no one knows how, or by whom it is propagated. Rather let us say, Truth passes, like morning, from land to land, and men, who all night long have read with bleared eyes by the candle of tradition, wonder at the light which streams through the crevice of window and wall. In the eleventh century, these "heretical doctrines" were still more common. The headsman's axe gleamed over many a Christian neck. But the neck of Heresy was not cut off; for in the twelfth century there were still some to be done to death. It is sad to reflect, that every advance in science, art, freedom, and religion, has been bought with the best hearts that ever beat, who have poured out the stream of their lives, and thus formed a deep, wide channel of blood, which has upborne and carried forward the ark of Humanity, Liberty, and Truth, from the dawn of things till this day. On every lofty path, where man treads securely now, naked feet have bled, as they trampled the flint into dust. How many forerunners leave their heroic heads in a charger; and even the Saviour must hang upon the cross, before men can be redeemed. In Bernard's time, these reformers came to a

world lying in wickedness; they came to priests, still more wicked, who attempted to heal the world by church-ceremonies, theological dogmas, councils, and convents, and "communion in one kind." There were a few, who wished to fall back on morality and religion. They counted the Bible as the finite stream, that comes from the infinite source and waters the gardens of the earth. They took their stand on primitive Christianity; when they spoke, it was from heart to heart, and so the common people heard them gladly.

We lament to say, that Bernard, great man as he was, good and pious as we know him to have been, set his face seriously against all these men, and thought he did God service by hunting them to death. His garments were rolled in the blood of these innocents. One of his friends, Everwin of Steinfeld, tells him he has "written enough against the pharisaism of Christians; now lift up your voice against the heretics, who are come into all the churches, like a breath from hell." Among the most eminent of these reformers and heretics, was Peter of Bruis, founder of the Petrobrusians, and Henry of Lausanne. Bernard signalized himself in attacking these men, though with various success. On a certain occasion, some heretics were burned in a remote district, and Everwin, writing an account of the affair, and, as usual, throwing all the blame on the *people*, wonders that these limbs of the devil, in their heresy, could exhibit such steadfastness in suffering the most cruel tortures, as was scarce ever found even among pious orthodox Christians.* The monk's wonder is quite instructive. In one of his letters, Bernard thus complains of the desolations wrought by the heretics. "The churches are shunned as if they were synagogues; the sanctuary of God is no longer reckoned holy; the sacraments are not honored; the festivals not celebrated. Men die in their sins; their souls are brought into the dreadful judgments of God, not reconciled by penance; not confirmed by taking the Last Supper." Yet, even among these heretics, Bernard was nearly all-powerful. He came to the city Albigeois, the head-quarters of these men, and did wonders. The following anecdote exhibits the character of the Saint, and the age. He once preached against the heretics at Toulouse, and, finishing his sermon, mounted his horse to ride off. In presence of the crowd, one of the dissenters said; "Your horse, good Abbot,

* Neander, p. 244.

is fatter and better fed than the beast of our Master, much as you say against him." "I do not deny it," said Bernard, with a friendly look; "It is the nature of the beast to be fat; not by our horses, but by ourselves, are we to be judged before God." He then laid bare his neck, and showed, naked, his meagre and attenuated breast. This was, for the public, the most perfect confutation of the heretic!

But we must, however unwilling, hasten from these scenes. In 1148, Pope Eugene visited Bernard in the cloister at Clairvaux, and remained with him some time. It was a beautiful homage for the conventional Head of the Church to a poor monk, whom piety, zeal, and greatness of soul had raised above all the heroes of convention. Bishop Malachias, who had done a great work in Ireland, came to lay his bones at Clairvaux. But bitter disappointment came at last upon Bernard. The crusade, for which he had preached, and prophesied, and worked miracles, and travelled over half Europe, was a failure. Its ruin was total. Half smothered invectives and fierce denunciations arose against him. All his predictions fell to the ground; the miracles he wrought; the vaunting boast and fiery words he had uttered came back on the head of the poor monk, mingled with the scorn of the nations. He had sophistry enough to refer the calamity to the sins of the crusaders. But this availed little, for he had promised their sins should be forgiven, and expressly called notorious sinners to the task. So he laid the blame upon the Almighty, who had assigned him his mission, gave him the promise, and "confirmed it by miracles."

Weary and disappointed, the poor Abbot betook himself to finish his greatest literary work, the celebrated treatise *de Consideratione*, a sort of manual for the popes, giving a picture of an ideal pope, a book of no small merit. This was the latest work of his life, and its concluding lines flowed forth from lips longing to give up the ghost. His usefulness continued to the last. His letters went on as usual; he exhorted his friends and pupils. But the shadow of defeat was on the man. It grew thicker and blacker each day. His letter to Andreas, written shortly before his death, shows how a monk can feel, and a man, whose word then shook the world, can be overcome. All his life long, he had looked to the west, and found no comfort, as the rising luminary shed new day over the world. But even on his death-bed, cast down as he was, he gave proofs of that

mysterious power the soul exerts over those decaying elements it gathers about itself, a power remarkably shown in his whole life. While sick almost to death, scarce any strength left in him, Hillin, Archbishop of Friers, came to ask him to mediate between the people of Metz, and the nobility of the neighborhood. Bernard arose from his bed ; forgot his weakness ; forgot his pain ; forgot his disappointment. His body seemed sinewy and strong beneath his mighty will. He met the delegates of the two parties on the banks of the Moselle. The haughty knights, flushed with victory, refused to listen to his terms, and withdrew, "not wishing the sick monk farewell." "Peace will soon come," said he. "It was foretold me last night, in a dream ; for I thought I was celebrating mass, and was ashamed because I had forgotten the chant, Gloria in Excelsis ; and so I sung it with you to the end." Before the time arrived for singing the chant, a messenger came so say, the knights were penitent ! His words had done the work in silence. The two parties were reconciled, and the kiss of peace exchanged. He returned to Clairvaux, and his strong spirit soon left the worn-out frame, where it had long dwelt almost in defiance of the body's law. He had lived sixty-three years, and his spirit was mighty in the churches long after his death.

His biographer Alanus thus describes the last scene. "About the third hour of the day, (August 20, 1153,) this shining light of his age, this holy and truly blessed Abbot passed away from the body of death to the land of the living ; from the heavy sobbings and abundant tears of his friends, standing around him, to the chorus of angels chanting continually, with Christ at their head. Happy that soul, which rises by the excellent grace of its own merits ; which is followed by the pious vows of friends, and drawn upwards by holy desire for things above. Happy that transition from labor to rest ; from expectation to enjoyment of the reward ; from the battle to the triumph ; from death to life ; from faith to knowledge ; from a pilgrimage to his own home ; from the world to the Father."

In stature, Saint Bernard was a little below the common standard ; his hair of a flaxen color ; his beard somewhat reddish, but both became gray as he grew old. The might of the man was shown in his countenance. Yet his face had a peculiar cheerfulness, more of heaven than of earth, and his eye at once expressed the serpent's wisdom, with the simplicity of the dove. It was indifferent to him whether he drank oil, or wine,

or water. He was dead to the pleasures of the table, and to all sensual delights. He could walk all day by the lake of Lucerne, and never see it. In summing up his character, we must allow him great acuteness of insight; a force of will, great and enduring almost beyond belief, — a will like that of Hannibal, or Simon the Stylite, which shrunk at no difficulty, and held out Promethean to the end. He was zealous and self-denying, but narrow in his self-denial, and a bigot in his zeal. He was pious, — beautifully pious, — but superstitious withal. In a formal age, no man loved forms better than he, or clung closer to the letter, when it served his end. His writings display a masculine good sense; * great acquaintance with the Scriptures, which he quotes in every paragraph, and with Augustine and Ambrose, “with whom he would agree, right or wrong.” † He hated all tyranny but the tyranny of the Church. Yet his heart was by nature gentle; he could take pains to rescue a hen from the hawk, but would yet burn men at the stake for explaining the mystery of the Trinity. He was ambitious as Cæsar; not that he cared for the circumstance and trappings of authority, but he loved power for itself, as an end. All the wax of Hymettus could not close his ears against this syren, nor a whole Anticyra heal his madness. He lived in an age when new light came streaming upon the world. But he called on men to close their shutters and stir their fires.

* His works are, 447 Letters; numerous Sermons on all the Sundays and Festivals in the year; 86 Sermons on the Canticles; a Treatise, in five books, de Consideratione; another, de Officio Episcoporum, de Præcepto et Dispensatione; Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem; this contains some of his sharpest rebukes of the monks and clergy. De laude Novæ Militiæ, i. e. the new order of knights templars. De gradibus humilitatis et superbiæ, de gratia et libero arbitrio, de baptismo, de erroribus Petri Abelardi. De Vita S. Malachiæ, de Cantu. Beside these, there are many works attributed to him, which belong to others, known or unknown. Such are the famous “Meditations of Saint Bernard,” which are sometimes printed in English in the same volume with Saint Augustine’s Meditations. No writer of the middle ages has been so popular as Bernard. His works were read extensively before the art of printing was invented, and have often been published since then. The best edition is that of Mabillon. Paris. 1719. 2 vols. folio. A new edition has recently been published, (Paris, 1838. 3 vols. 8vo.) which we have not examined.

† His reverence for the authority of the Church was most uncompromising. He thought it had power to change the words of Scriptures, and make the Bible better by the change; “Cum in Scripturis divinis verba vel alterat, vel alternat, fortior est illa compositio quam positio prima verborum.” — Sermon on the Nativity.

Greek and Roman letters, then beginning their glorious career in modern times, he hated as profane, and never dreamed of the wonders they were to effect for art, science, religion, yea, for Christianity itself. He was a man of the eleventh century, not of the twelfth. Its spirit culminated most beautifully in him. But he had no sympathy for those, who, grateful for their fathers' progress, would yet carry the line of improvement still farther on. He did nothing directly to promote a pure theology, or foster philosophical views, and thus to emancipate mankind from their long thralldom. Yet he did much remotely. Frozen hands are best warmed in snow. Bernard was a mystic,* and the age was growing rational. But in his mystic flights he does not soar so sublime as the Pseudo-Dionysius, or Scotus Erigena, from whom his mysticism seems derived. Still less has he the depth of Saint Victor, or the profound sweetness of Fenelon, the best, perhaps, of modern mystical Christians. His practical tendency was lead to the wings of mystical contemplation, and the very strength of his will prevented him from seeing Truth as other mystics, all absorbed in contemplation. Yet he was a great man, and without him the world would not have been what it is. Well does he deserve the praise of Luther, "if there ever was a pious monk, it was Saint Bernard."

T. P.

ART. II. — *Tracts for the Times, by Members of the University of Oxford.* Vol. II. Part II., IV., and V. 1839, 1840. London.

IN a former number of this journal, we entered at some length into the merits of the controversy excited by these remarkable productions of a few retired students in Oxford. The first lively interest, which they awakened among friends and foes, has scarcely yet to any degree subsided. Both parties, however, are now better informed as to the points at issue between

* On his Mysticism, see Ammoris *Fortbildung des Christenthums*, Vol. II., 2d edition, p. 355, seq. Heinwth *Geschichte und Kritik der Mysticismus*, p. 324, seq.; and Schmid *der Mysticismus der Mittelalter*, etc., p. 187, seq.

the papistical and the evangelical sects in the Church of England. The Oxford theologians were for a time occupied in defining their position, and they found it no easy task. What with the overwhelming burden of their voluntary undertaking, viz., to gather another set of doctrines from the accommodating records of Christian antiquity, and the necessity of repelling the advances, which the Romanists made to them, as if to meet them half way, they have certainly approved their good courage during a contest of seven years. In their successive publications they have faithfully maintained the single purpose, which they professed to have in view, in the first page of their tracts. They have made no further concessions to the papists, nor have they in the least abated their confidence, that, though railed at by the disciples of their own Church, they are, nevertheless, its most devoted and obedient children. They still persevere in their determination to prove, that the Catholic Church has its purest succession in England; that Rome is the lawful, though in some respects the degenerate repository of the early Christian faith; that the Reformers, in the honest opposition to the corruptions of the papacy, were not careful enough to distinguish between the opinions and usages of the primitive Church, and the abuses of a later era; and finally, that the way of peace and safety is to be found in a regenerated reverence for the holy authority, the heaven-directed legislation of the English hierarchy. Would that they could be brought to look upon their task as others look upon it. We might even wish, that they had less of faith; for an excess of faith seems, after all, to play the fool with their reason. They have set themselves to perform much mightier feats than the removal of mountains. We cannot but admire the perfect self-possession and confidence, with which they enliven their unrequited labors. They betray no anxiety to measure the degree of their success. No statistics are to be found throughout their publications. They have not once looked back to see how far they have advanced. Not a single misgiving seems to have arisen in their minds at the thought of the wide interval between their own position, and that, which is occupied by the rest of Christendom. We have not noticed, in any one of the tracts, a return blow against their assailants. With a most cool self-assurance, the millions of Christians, who have not the least sympathy with their movements, are addressed as the judge addresses a trembling criminal after his best defence has been proved wanting alike in

reason, truth, and evidence. Our readers would be positively amazed at the contents of some of the later tracts, as productions of the members of one of the oldest literary institutions in the world, and a place of Protestant martyrdom, in this, the middle of the nineteenth century. Truly, there must be one place in the world, and that place must be Oxford, in which the struggling experience, and the hard-won convictions of individual minds in the search of a faith not to be found in books, are not known, or even imagined. What possible hope can cheer them in a task, which is as hopeless as if they were to undertake to convince all the inhabitants of the earth, not only that they ought to wear garments of the same size, form, and material, but that when full grown in years they should put on the garments in which they were wrapped, when as infants they drew the first breath of life? It would seem, that the views maintained in the Oxford Tracts have not thus far made many converts. Indeed, it is surprising, that, when expressed with so much force and beauty of language, bolstered up with the authority of extensive erudition, and aided by the energy of a novel enterprise, they have not excited some degree of popular enthusiasm in their favor. As was to have been expected, the circulation of the tracts in populous cities, and in retired districts, has called forth, here and there, a few friends, who had long cherished, without an utterance, the doctrines, which they were pleased to know had found their prophets. Here and there a few country congregations have listened to a dispensation of the word, with the Oxford commentary, but the counter reformation has as yet made no impression upon the kingdom at large. The opponents of the Oxford doctrines have not increased in number, and many of the recent publications of Church writers take no notice of the controversy. We may, therefore, look upon the new movement as enfeebled rather by its own native weakness, than as smothered by the jealousy or opposition of its enemies. Either the world is too old by two centuries, to be frightened or subjected by a new order of monks, or they themselves rest content with their harmless weapons of "bell, book, and candle," without presuming farther.

For the sake of completing, what in our former remarks upon these tracts we commenced, we will now very briefly designate the subjects and the contents of the recent volumes. The only one of the tracts, which bears the name of its author, is that by

Dr. Pusey, on "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism." It extends to four hundred octavo pages, and we use no figure of speech when we say, that more than two-thirds of its contents are positively unintelligible to us. That human souls are regenerated from the effects of their original sin by baptism, is the point from which the argument of the tracts proceeds to pile up texts of Scripture, and extracts from the Fathers, which, when thus printed, page after page, have no more meaning to us, than would so many sheets printed from types arranged for Walker's Dictionary, but thrown into confusion by an electric shock from one of Dr. King's best machines. That baptism is essential to salvation is the only intelligible statement of doctrine contained in the volume. Some of the other propositions, for which Scripture and tradition are adduced, as proofs, are these; "baptism acts on implanted feeling, to guard what we have;" "baptism the source of an illumination;" "a life-giving mark in the name of the Trinity;" "our approach to our Holy of Holies, and High Priest;" "miracle of the iron axe in Jordan typical;" "the flood, the type of the restoration of man and destruction of sin, by baptism." After this, there will be no need of another tract to vindicate "Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge."

One of the great subjects of controversy, which the Oxford party has brought under discussion, is the province and authority of tradition, and the tests by which it is to be tried. Vincent of Levins, a monk, who died about the middle of the fifth century, has furnished, in his Tract on Heresy, a standard for traditionary authority, in these words; "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est*;" that which has been transmitted as authoritative, in all times, in all places, and by all men. The Oxford party maintain the same rule, and insist, that their purpose is to extend its sanction to certain tenets and practices, which modern times have allowed to fall into forgetfulness. To substantiate this authority in any given case, would be an overwhelming task. The rule itself might safely be admitted, by those who would take refuge under the impossibility of its application to any "Puseyite doctrine." But Mr. Taylor, the most able opponent of the Tracts, in his work entitled "*Primitive Christianity*," denies the authority of the rule itself, because, as he says, it may be adduced in vindication of some of the foulest corruptions of the early Church, such as enforced celibacy. The Oxford writers have never, as

far as we know, proved the authority of the rule ; but in one of their tracts they give a chain of quotations from the Fathers of their communion, and from their great divines, to show that they maintained the rule, and enforced the obligation of accepting all, to which it might be applied. As a set-off against this apparent leaning towards Popery, the next Tract is devoted to a discussion of the merits of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory. No countenance whatever is given to it. It is treated as a heresy, without any Scripture authority, as an invention of an early age, superstitiously conceived, but comparatively innocent in that golden age of the Church. But when the doctrine was received into the bosom of degenerate Rome, and made the claim of purchase-money for indulgences, it was proved wanting by the standard of tradition. We have next a Tract containing quotations from sixty eminent Church authorities, in support of the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, that is, of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and of the mysterious efficacy of the rite upon the believing communicant. We should regard most of the language, which is thus quoted, as only the figurative or mystical expressions of devout minds, intended to suggest certain trains of thought, or to excite certain sentiments of devotion in the disciples of Christ, when commemorating their Master. However, it is very difficult to fix any positive meaning upon much of the language which is used, for the writers were so anxious to discountenance transubstantiation, while they held to some mystery in the sacrament, that they were led into much confusion of speech and figure.

Another Tract is composed of four Sermons on Antichrist. Rome, of course, is made to bear the burden of the melancholy prediction, but the signs of the corruption, which the apostle declared should defile the Church, are found in many quarters. No definite date is fixed for the fulfilment of the prediction. The aim of the tract seems to be, to prove that the English Church is the sole surviving pillar of the faith ; that even this needs repairs, and that all others are decayed either in the heart, or on the surface. The next Tract discusses the question, whether an English clergyman is bound to have, daily, morning and evening prayers in his parish church ? We think, that the duty is fairly proved as binding upon all whom it concerns, by a quotation of authorities from the Church rubric, ritual and actual, and by a selection from the recorded opinions of the most honored divines in that commun-

ion. The only ground of exception allowed, in the Book of Common Prayer, which could absolve a minister from this daily duty, was his illness, or his engagement in the study of divinity. This latter excuse, we observe, might be made to cover a wide surface of engagements and ministerial occupations. A clergyman is studying divinity when he is writing his sermons for Sunday. The tract adduces the examples of several honored divines, who have allowed nothing, not even a most scanty attendance of worshippers, to interfere with their discharge of this daily duty. The next tract is made up of lectures on the Scripture proof of the doctrines of the Church. Its whole argument proceeds upon the distinct admission, that episcopacy cannot be proved to be taught explicitly and systematically in Scripture. It is said to be *in* the Bible, but not *on its surface*. It is not made the subject of express and explicit instruction, but is to be culled out, and very ingeniously detected by a mind, which is already assured of its authority. There are implications, dark hints, veiled symbols, and comparisons, which throw light on obscurities, and from all these a submissive believer may fortify his belief, that with tradition to sanction the interpretation of the Church, Episcopacy is taught in the New Testament. The difficulty in this theory is, that besides Episcopacy, so many other doctrines and systems have by the use of these same means been found in Scripture, the means themselves have fallen under suspicion. The author of the tract reasons from analogy, and says, that the difficulties in the way of such an interpretation of Scripture are no greater than the difficulties in deciding the canon of Scripture; and that Church authority being once denied, the way is open to all the unlicensed liberties of latitudinarianism. To this we answer, that one difficulty is not removed by the opposition of another, and that no reasonable Christian is so narrowed in the limits of his choice, that he must either take refuge among bishops, or fall into the snare of unlicensed latitudinarianism.

This tract, however, was well suited to prepare the way for its successor, which points out the indications of a Superintending Providence in the preservation of the Prayer Book, and in the changes which it has undergone. To dispute the assumption upon which this tract proceeds, would open a question far beyond our present intentions. Whether it be right, from age to age, to cling to the whole contents of the Prayer Book, as for the time being they are sustained, and to enforce by griev-

ous penalties, and in spite of consciences, implicit obedience in them, and then to claim an interposition of Providence for those alterations which are forced from unwilling priests by the spirit of light and liberty, — whether this be right, we leave with our readers to decide. Among the early publications of the Oxford divines, that which caused the chief outbreak against their movement, was the tract on *Reserve in the Communication of Religious Knowledge*. The party, however, manfully stood their ground upon this subject; indeed, we may say, that in this tract is centred the very life of their whole system. The ground, which they first assumed, is now fortified by another tract, with the same title. Their theory is, that a kind of illumination, or self-mortification, or deep spiritual humility, is necessary to the apprehension of divine truth; that without this preparation, truth can neither be appreciated nor understood, but on the contrary is in danger of being slighted, and treated with contempt. Therefore, the Church should hold back its most solemn lessons, should veil its most sacred truths, till they may be disclosed with safety, to the illuminated. An attempt is made to prove, from the Fathers, that this was the custom devoutly and resolutely maintained, in the primitive Church, and its usages in this respect are compared at length with the usages of Christian teachers at the present time. The last tract issued, being the eighty-eighth of the series, is a translation and arrangement of the Greek devotions of Bishop Andrew, in many respects a valuable collection of devotional exercises, for daily use, with which many of our readers are probably well acquainted. The reasons, why this collection has thus received the patronage of the Oxford party, may be such as these; the reverence of antiquity, of time-honored creeds and ecclesiastical usages, the liturgical style and method, which appear in the devotional exercises, and the proof which their regular use, morning and evening, by a distinguished prelate, affords of the fact, that the Church expects such offices of piety from all her ministers.

Now that the publication of these tracts has been so long continued, and the one great subject of counter-reform has been presented in so many different lights, we are able to form some definite opinion as to the ultimate design of their authors. If we attach any weight to their own reiterated disavowals, we must admit that they are not looking with the eyes of desire to the Romanism of the middle ages. They maintain, that the

Church of the first three centuries contained all that is good in Romanism, and was wholly stainless of its blemishes. But one thing is very evident, that the crushing and tyrannical spirit of Romanism, which binds with the ligatures of dictation without reason, the fervor as well as the liberty of an individual soul, breathes through every page of the Oxford tracts. It is almost a miracle to us, that any coterie of well-educated men could subsist, for any length of time, on such a famishing diet as their prælections must have offered to their minds. It would be more than a miracle to us, if they were to succeed in starving any large number of believers into an appetite for such meagre fare as they offer.

We regard these tracts, and the spirit of which they are the organs, as designed to oppose the latitudinarianism, the ultra-Protestantism of the present age. Erasmus, after working for a time with the Reformers, drew back in timidity, predicting that time would show, that there is no line of division between Protestantism, and the full license of infidelity. His prediction has been fulfilled in the fears of the Oxford writers, and they have set themselves to roll back the strong tide by a mere cob-web netting, which allows the mighty current to pass through it, while it catches only the floating straws upon the surface. We cannot hope to find security against latitudinarianism, in raking over the now quiet and lifeless ashes of the past for a fire, which may warm a torpid and a cold indifference. The denial of light, the winking at ignorance, the building of imaginary safe-guards around the outposts of faith and reverence, means once found so efficient, cannot be used now. The measure of true piety, and of a Christian spirit, which the Oxford writers exhibit, will after all be found more valuable in their cause than any chain of quotations from Fathers or divines. The best selection of such a character involves the use of language, if not of doctrines and sentiments, which does not now affect the sympathies, or reach the consciences of men. True Protestantism must abide by the pledge, which it gave on the day of its birth, that it would respect individual consciences, and appeal to no other code, save Scripture.

G. E. E.

ART. III. — *Pastoral Library Magazine.* No. I. November, 1840.

WE have long desired to see the object, recommended in this pamphlet, brought before the public ; and we are rejoiced to see it done in a way which will secure the attention of a part, at least, and, as we hope, of all our American churches. The object proposed is the formation, by religious societies, of Ministerial Libraries. This pamphlet is published apparently under the auspices of our Presbyterian brethren ; but it also appears that the Episcopal church is moving in the same matter. We earnestly hope that the Unitarian churches may follow their wise and good example. We believe that there is no possible way in which they could secure from the same amount of money, so great and permanent a public benefit.

The reasons which should induce parishes to establish permanent Ministerial Libraries are very obvious. As it is with young men who enter other professions, so with those who enter the ministry, three out of four, by the time they have completed their nine or ten years of preparatory study, have exhausted all their resources, while many, when this long and expensive course of education is finished, are left more or less in debt. Take one thus situated. He is settled on a salary which is probably very little more than sufficient for the support of a family ; and if he shrink from an old age of penury, and from leaving his family, in case of his death, in destitution, he is compelled to avoid all expenditures which are not absolutely necessary. He leaves the Theological School with habits of study, and enters on his office, we may suppose, with high and pure aims, and with capacities which give the promise of permanent usefulness. But as soon as he is settled he meets with obstacles which he had not anticipated. Before this time his limited means had precluded the purchase of books, and now, if he have a family, he finds that it is impossible for him to purchase them. Or if he do it, it must be at the sacrifice of the hope even of laying up anything for his children, or against his own sickness, or old age. It may indeed be said, that money invested in books is not lost, but only put into another form, and may again, on necessity, be turned into money. But it is not so. Suppose that a minister, resolved that his mind shall not starve, nor his people famish because of

his leanness, determines to have the books which he needs. He expends every year, in their purchase, all of his salary which is not exhausted in the support of his family. In the course of his life he may have collected a library which has cost him a thousand or two thousand dollars. He dies; and his executors look around to see what he has left for the maintenance of his wife and children; and except his household furniture they find only this library. It is sold at auction, and in all probability does not bring one fifth part of what it cost. We have rarely witnessed a more melancholy sight than the sale, in the country, of a library belonging to a minister, who had left a dependent family behind him, without any means of support. Had the money, which each year filled a new shelf with books, been invested at the ordinary rates of interest, his family had not been subject to present penury and future dependence. But the books of such a library hardly sell for more than waste paper. It is not only pamphlets and periodicals, every volume of which cost him at least two or three dollars, which hardly bring as many shillings, but it is the same with all the most valuable theological works. The fact that they are professional, makes them at the same time the most costly and least saleable of all books. At a public auction of a minister's effects, such works as Poole's Synopsis, Lightfoot's Works, or Rosenmüller's Scholia, will hardly sell for the cost of binding.

Can it be expected of a minister, under these circumstances, that he should furnish himself with a library of any great value? Is he not bound to endeavor to lay up something for the support of his family in case of his death? Has he a right, if he can avoid it, to leave them dependent on the world for bread? It is a hard question to settle, for it is a question between the destitution of his family and the destitution of his mind.

There is another circumstance to be considered. The permanence of the pastoral relation has ceased among us. Probably on the average, the religious societies of New England change their ministers much oftener than once in ten years. But suppose what rarely takes place, that the minister continues in the same parish until he has passed through the vigor of manhood, and is just entering on old age. No matter how faithful he may have been; by this time his mind has become an old one to his people. Its elasticity and freshness are gone. His

sympathies and intellectual habits and acquirements connect him with the generation that is passing away, while the generation of the young, who are coming on, demand one whose intellectual sympathies are with them. Though out of respect to his feelings, nothing be said, there is a gradual and growing dissatisfaction which is undermining him. The Sabbath services are more thinly attended. Interest in religion is decaying. By frequent illustration and repetition of his leading views, they have become commonplace, and his words, on which his hearers once hung in closest attention, now lull them to sleep. The people feel, and he sees the need of a change, — the need not of a better or abler man, but of one whose mind will be fresh to them, who will excite new trains of thought, and address in new ways the moral and religious sentiments of his congregation. All this is natural and necessary ; and we speak not in the way of complaining of the present state of things, for on the whole we prefer the mode of settling ministers which now prevails, to the former one of settling them for life. But, when it has come to this point, the minister must soon leave either by his own choice or by compulsion. He leaves his parish too old to be settled any where else. The prejudices of society practically exclude him from most kinds of business. And even if they did not, he has arrived at a period of life when he cannot adopt business habits, and when, if he enter into any secular employments he will almost certainly fail. He is cast abroad on the world with a family, for whose support he has laid up nothing but poverty, incapacity for business, and a library which will not sell. How forlorn and desolate is the old age of a minister thus thrown upon the world, with no employment, with no means of undertaking any secular business, and none of the knowledge or habits which would enable him to carry it on successfully, if he had the pecuniary means, we need not say. We would again ask, whether it is to be expected of one under these circumstances, that he should expend much money in the purchase of books ?

But on the other hand, suppose that, prevented by his limited means and the wants of his family, he does not purchase them, what is the result ? Let it be one, who, when he enters on his profession, carries with him habits of study, the strong purpose of personal improvement and social usefulness, and let it be a man too of more than ordinary intellectual ability, and still what must be the necessary result ? For a few years his

past attainments stand in the place of books. But from the lack of a library his habits of study insensibly die away. Excepting the Bible, his reading is confined to a few commentaries or volumes of sermons, or perhaps to a few religious and political newspapers and periodicals. He makes no excursions into new branches of knowledge, and what he formerly acquired he gradually forgets. He loses his habits of thought and investigation, and a great part of his time is spent in visiting and conversation, which, though they may be very agreeable, have little to do with the improvement of himself or of others. What he calls study, consists in spending one or two days of the week in the mechanical writing out of sermons. But so little has he done to enlarge the stock of ideas with which he set out in life, that not only his main ideas, but his illustrations and trains of argument, and his very words, even in discourses which are professedly new, are repeated again and again, till they are lifeless. His sermons degenerate into a repetition of commonplaces, wearisome alike to himself and his hearers, or into exhortations, which, growing out of no preceding ideas, fall dead on the air. He goes round and round in the same mill-horse circle of thought, till it is trodden hard and made utterly barren. The inevitable result of the want of study is, that he has nothing which he is anxious to say, he loses his interest in preparing for the services of the Sabbath, and to escape from the task ceases to write, and repeats his old sermons till their worn and yellow leaves become familiar to every child in his congregation. Some are contented to go on thus through life, travelling the same dull, blind, tiresome road, till they and their people sink into spiritual inanition.

Others, however, are not satisfied with this. But without libraries, and without habits of improvement in those things which relate immediately to their professional duties, perceiving that their influence as preachers is gone, and mortified and dissatisfied alike by the consciousness that they are accomplishing nothing, and that they are becoming cyphers in the community, look around for other opportunities of usefulness, or other means of social influence and standing. They take a part in politics; they are busy in getting up societies for every possible and every impossible thing; or become zealous partisans on one side or the other of every extravagant and ultra notion of the day. The measures in which they engage, may or may not conduce to the benefit of society. But few persons can

do two things well. And just in proportion as their industry and enthusiasm are withdrawn from the appropriate duties of their profession, and turned into other channels, their interest and usefulness in that profession decay.

Much is said of the inefficiency of ministers, and of the barren and unprofitable character of their discourses. If the charge be true, it arises chiefly, we believe, from the fact, that a great part of them, when they are settled, are comparatively destitute of books, have no means of procuring them, and from the lack of them lose their habits of study and self-improvement.

But how shall ministers be provided with proper libraries? — how, especially at that time when they most need books, and are least able to obtain them, — the time when they first enter on the practical duties of their calling?

The plan proposed in the pamphlet at the head of these remarks is, we believe, the best, if not the only one. It is for each religious society to establish a permanent library of its own, for the use of its successive ministers.

It is a thing which might very easily be done. A hundred dollars a year, judiciously laid out, would in a short time build up a more valuable library than is now owned by one minister in twenty. By raising no more than fifty or twenty-five dollars a year for this purpose, the same result would in time be accomplished. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the advantages of such a measure, but we will refer to two or three of them.

One advantage is, that money thus raised, and for a permanent library, would be invested in works of established and permanent value. Many of the most valuable theological works are large and costly. A minister may want them, but he does not feel as if he could expend ten, twenty, perhaps fifty dollars on a single work, which, in case of his death, would be worthless to his family. And not only this; if he buys books at all, he wants them on as great a variety of subjects as possible, while, in order to have any variety his limited means compel him to purchase not the best works, but those which are smallest and cheapest. His library, therefore, though as good perhaps as he can make it, is of little worth. He may buy hundreds of volumes, and among them all have hardly one standard work. But that which a minister cannot do, a church, establishing a permanent library, would do as a matter of course.

Again, it secures to a young man, when he is first settled, the means of improvement. It leaves him without excuse, if he does not keep up his habits of study, and every year make some progress beyond where he was the year before. It supplies him with the means of enlarging his mind and of filling it with things new and old. And of course the people enjoy the advantage of this improvement. What has been added to his mind, will reappear in his public ministrations.

There is an advantage to a society of a pecuniary nature arising out of this course worth being considered. The books which a minister purchases are paid for out of his salary; that is, whether the minister hold the books as his own, or whether they are put into a permanent library, the society must equally provide the means for obtaining them. But this difference follows. If salaries are determined at all with reference to the necessity of purchasing books, enough must be given to each successive clergyman to purchase a library. A parish thus raises money to build up as many libraries as it shall have ministers. Whereas, if it have a ministerial library, it is purchased once for all. With comparatively little additional expense, each successive minister, and the people with him, enjoy all its advantages. We suppose that there is no young man who would not consider the fact, that a parish owned a valuable ministerial library, a far stronger inducement to settle there, than a much larger salary without it.

But suppose that the parish tax remains the same. Take a parish which for the last fifty years has paid on the average six hundred dollars a year as a salary to its clergyman. During that period they have probably had five or ten different ministers, some remaining a short and some a longer time. All of them have purchased more books than they could afford, and yet not one of them has had a library of any value, and the next one will be in the same condition as all who have preceded him. But suppose that fifty years ago they had adopted the plan of giving but five hundred and seventy-five dollars salary, and of devoting the remaining twenty-five dollars a year to the purchase of a permanent library. At this time they would have a library which would have cost one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, composed of valuable and standard works. No one would have felt the expense; in seeking a new minister it would be a strong inducement for any one to settle with them; and at his death it would not be scattered to the

winds, but remain in the church a perennial fountain of instruction and benefit for ages to come.

We do not present this case as an illustration of the best mode of establishing a library, but to show how easily it may be done, in a short time, by a very small annual appropriation, not beyond the ability of the poorest congregation. The object might be accomplished in various ways. One or more individuals might contribute a fund, the interest of which should be devoted to this purpose; or the necessary money might be raised by subscription or by contribution; or the society as a body might appropriate to it, annually, a certain sum, while the library might be greatly increased by donations from individuals, of such books as they might care little about retaining in their own possession, but which would be valuable in a library.

If it were desirable, while the library remained in the hands of the pastor, its use might be extended to others. All who subscribed a certain amount at first, or paid an annual instalment, might have the privilege of borrowing its books; or it might under certain restrictions be expanded into a library for general circulation among the members of the society. The plan must vary according to the condition of particular parishes. For the sake, however, of illustrating the general course to be pursued, we will refer to a case within our knowledge, where the plan adopted has been followed by the happiest results.

About fifteen years ago, in a country parish in New Hampshire, a gentleman feeling a strong interest in his native town, and knowing the importance of a good library to a minister's usefulness, and the difficulty with which it is procured, presented a large number of books for the use of the minister of one of the societies, to five trustees. The trustees have the right to fill any vacancy in their board by some person selected from the society. An act of incorporation was then obtained. With two others, he established a permanent fund of two hundred and fifty dollars, the interest of which is appropriated to the increase of the library. Others have contributed money and books. Whoever gives ten dollars at any one time, in money or books, is entitled to the privilege of taking out books during his life; and all ministers of the gospel in the town are allowed the gratuitous use of it. It contains now about six hundred volumes, and additions are made to it every year. Through the agency of the same individual, in a neighboring town of

which he is still an aged and venerated minister, a library has been established on a similar plan, which now contains about the same number of volumes. The towns being near together, the ministers of both societies have a right to the use of the books of both libraries. The importance of such libraries in a country town can hardly be over estimated. We have referred to this case the more willingly, to show how good and useful a work a single individual, with some exertion, may accomplish.

It is not our purpose, however, to discuss this subject in full ; we wish only to commend it to the consideration of our churches and ministers. To the latter we would say, that they ought to feel no delicacy in endeavoring to establish such a library, for they will not be benefited by it more than their societies, nor so much as their successors. And of laymen who have the ability, we would ask, whether there is any way in which they could probably by the same effort, be the authors of more lasting good than by engaging in this work.

E. P.

ART. IV. — *The History of Harvard University.* By JOSIAH QUINCY, L L. D., President of the University. Vols. I. and II. Cambridge: Published by John Owen. pp. 612, and 728.

WE congratulate the alumni and friends of Harvard University on the appearance of these volumes. They have been the objects of earnest anticipation ; and we believe, that, contrary to the usual results of such anticipation, they will completely satisfy it. It is rare indeed, that a Centennial Celebration, even so distinguished as was that of the second century of Harvard College, in September, 1836, leaves of itself so enduring a monument as is this history. The address delivered on that occasion by the President, with a copious extract from which the work commences, has expanded, under his diligent and skilful hands, into these noble volumes ; which for beauty of execution, both in type and pictorial illustration ;* for fidelity,

* In his Preface the author expresses his obligations to several individuals for aid in the progress of the work. There is one, to whom

accuracy, fulness, and, as we think, signal impartiality of detail, are in the highest degree honorable to the press whence they proceed, and to their able and indefatigable author. It is not in vain that five years have passed since this history was contemplated. It is now written; and it needs no prophetic sagacity or boldness to assert, that it will endure. Whoever at the third centennial in 1936 shall stand in the place of Mr. Quincy at the second, will find his task made light, and will be in no danger of leaving his hearers in doubt or ignorance of his authority, in citing, as with a grateful confidence he certainly will do, these pages.

Of the sources and materials of the history the author gives a distinct and satisfactory account in the preface. These are drawn from the archives of the College, and those of the Colony and State of Massachusetts; from books and manuscripts belonging to the Massachusetts Historical and the American Antiquarian Societies; from the records of the corporation and overseers; and from ancient papers and manuscripts in the possession of individuals, and communicated for the purpose. These latter sources of information are, many of them, of a very curious character; and the copious extracts which are made from them in the appendixes, more particularly from the letters and diaries of eminent individuals of the earlier times, the Mathers, Sewalls, and others, throwing light upon events and persons, — many of them now for the first time exhibited, — will not fail of commanding the interest excited in all mankind by honest private history. And if in some of them it should appear that great men are not always wise, and that

some special returns were surely due, and we can wholly sympathize in the paternal satisfaction with which a daughter's skilful and effectual help must have been received, as it is thus affectionately acknowledged.

"To his eldest daughter (Eliza S. Quincy), the author is indebted for the design and original sketch of the frontispiece to the first volume, and also for the original sketches of all the vignettes, with the exception of the first three College Halls, (which are reduced copies from an ancient engraving,) the Medical College, and the Pavilion. The labor of preparing the Index was voluntarily assumed by her, and has been executed with fidelity and exactness. Indeed, the work itself, in its progress through the press, owes to her continued vigilance, much of the accuracy, which it is hoped will be found in it, and which, from the multiplicity of its details, and the constant pressure of official duties, it would have been scarcely possible for the author otherwise to have attained." — Preface, pp. xiii. xiv.

men seeking high places will sometimes yield themselves to very humble practices, it is surely not the fault but the faithfulness of the historian to record it. The motto adopted for his book is the single word "Veritas," inscribed on the first college seal; and in no part of his work has the author more honorably approved his allegiance to "Truth" than in the fidelity, coupled with candor, with which he has exposed undeniable faults. "History," as he well says, in a part of the work to which we shall presently refer, "has no higher or more imperative duty to perform, than by an unyielding fidelity to impress a certain class of men with the apprehension, that, although through fear or favor they may escape the animadversions of contemporaries, there awaits them in her impartial record, the retribution of truth."

The world, we count, is a debtor to those who fearlessly, yet charitably present such lessons; and amidst the false or extravagant praises so profusely lavished upon princes and patriots, and others called great, it is refreshing to find, as in these pages, the honesty of truth. Very possible it is, that such truth may in some quarters be unwelcome. There are friends, or descendants, and perhaps there may be even present interests, which policy or partiality may be tempted to consult. We would be no advocates for a needless exposure of the errors of useful men, yet whenever truth demands it, we honor the integrity that shrinks not from the duty. We turn, however, to the history which has suggested these remarks.

The foundations of Harvard College were laid in 1638, by the donation of John Harvard of one half of his estate and the whole of his library to the institution. The first President was Henry Dunster, its generous patron as well as its head; and "among the early friends of the College no one deserves more distinct notice. His gifts, notwithstanding his poverty, and his services, faithful, unwearied, and inestimable, amidst discouragements and religious persecutions, and his most meek and gentle submission to the heavy trials are well delineated here. The treatment he received, because of his views of baptism, was neither kind nor just. He found the seminary a school. It rose, under his auspices, to the dignity of a College. No man ever questioned his talents, learning, exemplary fidelity, and usefulness. His scanty salary had been paid, not in cash, nor in kind, but by transfers of town rates; there-

by vesting him with the character of tax-gatherer, and exposing him to all the vexations, delays, complaints, losses, and abatements incident to that office. "Considering the poverty of the country," says he, in a petition to the General Court for relief, "I am willing to descend to the lowest step; and if nothing can comfortably be allowed, I sit still appeased; desiring nothing more than to supply me and mine with food and raiment." And when, after fourteen years of faithful, self-denying labor, he was ejected from the Presidency, only for having lapsed "into the briers of Antipædobaptism," he was compelled in his straits to throw himself upon the tender mercies of the General Court, and to request as a favor to himself and his destitute family, not to be compelled to quit in the winter season the President's house. There is indeed "a simple touching pathos," which it would have been hard indeed for any but bodies corporate to resist. His successor, of like learning and gifts, Charles Chauncy, had his full share in the same privations and sufferings. He also entered upon his office at an advanced period, and in his old age was compelled to petition the General Court to provide for him according to his present necessities, "that God may not be dishonored, nor the country blemished, nor your petitioner and his family cast upon temptations, and enforced to look out to benefit their condition."

These were indeed "days of small things," when this faithful, and laborious, and learned man was forced by the extremity of his poverty thus to present to the General Court his many "grievances and temptations;" to tell them, "that his salary was not sufficient for the comfortable supply of his family with necessary food and raiment; that he had been brought greatly into debt; that the provision for the President was not suitable, being without land to keep either a horse or cow upon, or habitation to be dry or warm in." Such details of early straits and humiliations, in contrast with present prosperity and fame, are alike interesting and instructive; and are justly "thought due," says Mr. Quincy, "to the memory of Dunster and Chauncy, who for learning, talent, and fidelity, have been surpassed by no one of their successors; who exceeded every one of them in sufferings, sacrifices, and privations; and whose fate has been little known, and of consequence had little sympathy. And yet they were both main supports to the institution for thirty years, in times when its friends were fewest, and its condition humblest."

And what is yet more beautiful, and can scarcely fail of commanding our warm admiration, is, that all their perplexities, and the thankless returns they received, never prevailed to quench their faithful love to the College. Of Dunster, who was dismissed from his office, we have this touching testimony. "He appointed his successor in office and the Pastor of the church of Cambridge, who had a horror of his heresy, the executors of his will, calling them his reverend, and trusty, and judicious friends." "He ordered that his body should be brought to Cambridge after his decease, and be interred near the seminary, which had been the scene of his labors, and which he had consecrated in his affections. And in the adjoining church-yard," concludes the President, "now lie the remains of as true a friend, and faithful a servant as this College ever possessed."

Passing the presidency of Dr. Hoar, who was at once a clergyman and a physician, and if not equally pressed by poverty, was no stranger to heavier griefs, having been ejected from his place in consequence of "a most extraordinary vote" of the corporation, virtually ascribing the languishing condition of the College to him, and indirectly encouraging the young men to rebellion; passing also the times of President Oakes, who was more than "suspected of having some agency in the discontent of the College and the troubles of Dr. Hoar, but who was still honored as faithful and indefatigable in his place," we come down to the days of Increase Mather, who, after a very short interval, filled up by the Rev. John Rogers, was in June 1685 requested "to take special care of the government of the College, and for that end, to act as President until a farther settlement be made." "Mr. Mather," continues the historian, "retained this relation sixteen years; during eight of which he held the office of President, although non-resident at Cambridge. The period which elapsed while the College was under his superintendence, is the most interesting, the most critical, and the most decisive of its destinies, of any in its history."

Accordingly this portion of the College history has evidently received a large share of the attention and investigation of the writer; and difficult, in some respects, as are the topics connected with it, the results exhibited will, we think, appear just and satisfactory. Among these topics, the influence of the Congregational clergy on the College; the Catholic spirit of

the College itself, maintained inviolate and almost without exception from the beginning, of which its first seal, early charters, and absolute freedom from all religious tests, are pregnant and incontrovertible testimonies; the state of religious parties and their effects; the character and influence of the Mathers, father and son, the elder as head of the College and agent for the Province abroad, the younger lending his aid at home to the delusion of the times, and disturbing the College by his restless ambition, — are, each in its order, exhibited and occupy a space in the first volume fully demanded by their importance.

In the third chapter, Mr. Quincy pays an honorable tribute to the spirit of the Congregational clergy of that day.

“We are probably indebted,” he says, “to the clergy for the catholic and liberal spirit breathed into its first, and into each successive Constitution; in every period its vital principle and distinguishing characteristic; to which may be chiefly ascribed its success and prosperity.

“The erection of a seminary of learning, particularly if it have for its object instruction in theology, is of all opportunities the most favorable to the establishment of sectarian tenets, if such exist at the time and have influence. Now the clergy of that early period were, not only a learned and wise, but eminently a practical body of men. They were also conscientiously imbued with certain peculiar religious opinions, which constituted the prevalent doctrines of all Protestant Christendom in that day. Their influence over the statesmen of the Colony was second to none the world ever witnessed. The religion of both was not so much coincident, as identical. Both were well apprised of the advantages resulting to worldly power from the possession and control of the seminaries of education. We expect, therefore, on opening the several charters, which form the Constitution of this University, to find it, with certainty, anchored head and stern, secure against wind, tide, and current, moored firmly on all the points which, in that day, were deemed fixed and immutable. We expect to find, in these instruments, some ‘form of sound words,’ some ‘creed,’ some ‘catechism,’ some ‘medulla theologiæ,’ established as the standard of religious faith, to which every one, entering on an office of government and instruction, shall be required to swear and subscribe, and, at the hazard of perjury and hypocrisy, under the combined temptations of loss of place, of caste, and of bread, at stated periods to renew his oath and subscription.

“Now, surprising as is the fact, there is not, in any one of

the charters, that form the Constitution of this College, one expression, on which a mere sectarian spirit can seize to wrest it into a shackle for the human soul. The idea seems never to have entered the minds of its early founders, of laying conscience under bonds for good behavior. It is impossible, even at this day, when the sun of free inquiry is thought to be at its zenith, to devise any terms more unexceptionable, or better adapted to assure the enjoyment of equal privileges to every religious sect or party." — Vol. I. pp. 45, 46.

Again, "in the conduct of the College, also, the Fathers of New England evinced a singular freedom from sectarian influence. The first two Presidents, and the only ones appointed by the early emigrants, were known unbelievers in points of religious faith to which the Congregational clergy of that time rigidly adhered." — Vol. I. p. 47.

Of this same catholicism, totally different from the spirit by which the University, for various purposes, and at later periods of its history to the present, has been assailed, the original motto of the College must be taken as a clear indication. This, as has been already intimated, was simply the word *Veritas*,*

* A happy allusion to this first seal of the College was made by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in his speech at the Centennial Celebration, which is preserved in the Appendix among the many eloquent speeches which that interesting occasion called forth. As it is of itself a description of the seal, and a very ingenious interpretation of the form of it, we shall insert the concluding paragraph with the sentiment which followed.

"Only one word more, Sir, in explanation of the sentiment which I propose to offer. Among the most interesting results of an untiring research, which the Orator of the Day has so eloquently displayed to us, was the fact, that the old inscription, '*Christo et Ecclesiæ*,' which has been so long emblazoned on the escutcheon of the College, was not its original motto; but that with a brevity and simplicity entirely characteristic of men, who themselves were

'as true as truth's simplicity,
And simpler than the infancy of truth,'

the Founders of the College wrote only upon its arms the naked word, '*Veritas*.' But there is, I must confess, Sir, something a little less simple in the manner in which they placed the several letters of which this word is composed, upon the different quarters of the College arms. The first four letters were inscribed *on the inside* of two open volumes; the last three letters, on the *outside* of a third volume. Happening during my morning duties to overhear some friends in my vicinity questioning the meaning of this mystical disposition of the word *Truth*, I have been endeavoring to extract a moral from it; and I now ask leave to propose it, in the shape of a sentiment:

"The Founders of our University. They have taught us, in the

which, it is stated, "is the only College seal having the sanction of any record." As this is a point of some moment, and is justly adduced as illustrative of the early independence in the College of a sectarian spirit, we here quote Mr. Quincy's testimony.

"At the first meeting 'of the governors of the College,' after the first charter was obtained, on the 27th of December, 1643, a College seal was adopted, having, as at present, three open books on the field of an heraldic shield, with the motto 'VERITAS' inscribed. The books were probably intended to represent the Bible; and the motto to intimate that in the Scriptures alone important truth was to be sought and found, and not in words of man's devising. This is the only College seal which has the sanction of any record.

"Whether this or any other indication of a liberal spirit, exhibited by the clergy, who, in that day, guided the seminary, had given offence, does not appear from history. It does however appear, that for some cause, the Congregational clergy of that period were subjected to the charge of 'dethroning Christ and setting up for themselves,' made against them by a class of enthusiasts, who pretended to greater purity and a more evangelical spirit. Concerning which class of enthusiasts, Thomas Shepard, one of the Overseers of the College, and a man of eminent learning and piety, in one of his writings published about this time (1645), speaks with great asperity, as aiming, under these pretences, to establish worldly power, and to gratify their own personal ambition; and he calls them 'Evangelical hypocrites.' 'The Epistles of James and John,' says he, 'are antidotes against this kind of poison; and I look upon them as lamps, hung up to discover these men.' 'The most subtle hypocrites,' he adds, 'appear, or seem to be, under grace, and their external operations are chiefly evangelical; hence I call them Evangelical hypocrites.'

"Whatever was the cause, it appears that the motto '*Veritas*' was soon exchanged for '*IN CHRISTI GLORIAM.*' After many years there was another change. Circumstances give color to the conjecture, that this took place during the Presidency of Increase Mather, when a violent struggle was making to secure the College under the influences of the old established Congregational church. At this time, there is reason to believe, that,

mode in which they inscribed the motto on the College Arms, that no *one human* book contains the *whole truth* of any subject; and that, in order to get at the real *end* of any matter, we must be careful to look at *both sides*." — Vol. II. pp. 702, 703.

instead of '*In Christi Gloriam*,' the motto now in use, '*Christo et Ecclesiæ*,' was adopted. There is, however, no authority for either of these mottos in any existing College record; nor is it known, with certainty, when either was introduced.

"There is, unquestionably, a liberality of religious principle manifested in the several charters of this College, apparently irreconcilable with the general conduct and policy resulting from predominating religious opinions in that day. But it is well known, that, among the early emigrants, there existed men, who were true disciples of the great principles of the Reformation, and who even carried them to a degree of theoretic perfection, scarcely exceeded in our time. It is possible, nay, even probable, that the reason of the entire absence of any reference to points of religious faith in the charters of the College was, that these early emigrants could not agree concerning them among themselves, and preferred silence on such points to engaging in controversy, when establishing a seminary of learning, in favor of which they were desirous to unite all the varieties of religious belief. The right of exercising private judgment in matters of religion was, at that day, in terms at least, universally recognised. It is not possible more expressly to maintain the right of every man to construe Scripture for himself, as a fundamental principle, than did some of the most distinguished and approved leaders of that period. This assertion might be easily supported by quotations from the writings of many of them." — Vol. I. pp. 48–50.

But after the accession of Increase Mather to the Presidency, and the new charter of 1692, strenuous efforts were made to bring the College under other influences.

"No sooner had it gone into operation, than the Calvinistic leaders of the Province realized, that, as a necessary consequence, the sceptre they had so long possessed, had passed from their hands; and being desirous to secure whatever yet remained of their former authority, sought to possess themselves of such instruments of power as were yet within their grasp. Of all the institutions of the country, the College, next to the civil government, was that which they deemed the most important, and to which they thought they were best entitled, as it had been founded under their auspices, and had been at all times under their control." — Vol. I. p. 65.

Now of these Calvinistic leaders, Increase Mather, and Cotton Mather, his son, aspired to become, and it will be read-

ily admitted, "were from learning, activity, and talent, best qualified to be chiefs. Both were members of the corporation, and the former was President of the College."

On the merits or the faults of these eminent personages we have not the space, nor is, it needful, here to dwell. Their names are familiar to every one in the least degree conversant with New England history, and time, that righteous judge, has nearly established their permanent place in the regards of posterity. Dr. Increase Mather has always held, and we doubt not will continue to hold, a distinguished rank with the wise and good of his times. He was an honored, and what is more, he was a *trusted* man, alike in the Church, in the College, and State. He possessed in no ordinary measure those qualities which naturally command the confidence of mankind. His vigorous understanding, united with his theological learning and undeniable personal worth, gave him the highest rank in his profession, and with his place as head of the College, he was honored "as the father of the New England clergy." His sound judgment and penetration in civil affairs evinced, notwithstanding some failures in his agency for the colony at the court of England, where he stood before kings, and generously and successfully pleaded its cause, were in singular contrast with the folly of his son. And if, like his son, he united eminent abilities with some foibles; if his ambition grew with its gratification, and a mistaken, not to say superstitious piety tempted him to welcome as the leadings of Providence what were only the promptings of his own fond desires; if he wrote of his confident assurances and "special faith," that he should have opportunities to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in England, when it seems evident that personal vanity and some other selfish views were joint fathers to that hope; if, at serious hazard of his reputation, he suffered himself to take part with his son in a most virulent opposition to the Brattle Street Church and its liberal founders; if, unlike the prudent and judicious Willard, his successor in the Presidency, he condescended to give the weight of his otherwise sound mind to that wretched "Salem delusion," in which his son, plunging deeper, made total shipwreck of his good name,—if these and possibly some other errors must be admitted,* let

* See for ample confirmation of all this, Chapters 4th to 8th inclusive, of the History, and the diaries of the Mathers; more especially the letters of Cotton Mather to Governors Shute and Saltonstall, as

not justice deny the honors still due to a wise and righteous man. His merits are weighed, we think, with an impartial hand in the pages before us; and for his undeniable errors something surely must be allowed for the spirit of his times, itself a strong temptation, and something, too, for his own honesty in keeping a diary. If even righteous Job could desire nothing better for his revenge than that his adversary had written a book, malice itself could hardly suggest a worse thing against an enemy than that he should keep such a journal.

Perhaps no man's memory ever suffered more from this source than has Cotton Mather's. He had neither the judgment nor the virtues of his father to compensate for his greater faults. Were it not for his own recorded testimony, it would hardly have been credited by the men of this generation, that he was capable of a mean and rancorous hostility against Harvard College, because he was not its President; against President Leverett, one of the most honorable and efficient heads the College ever received; against Brattle Street Church and its accomplished pastor, because they were not bigots or enthusiasts like himself; and, in fine, against everything that did not flatter his vanity and subserve his selfish ambition. Yet of all this he was weak enough to leave, in his own diary and under his own hand, incontrovertible testimony, of which the extracts in the appendix to this history, and others more copious, which have already been cited in a former series of this Journal, are but parts of what might still be adduced.*

well as to Elihu Yale, quoted at length in the Appendix. The deep hostility of Cotton Mather to Harvard College appears in each of these singular documents. He flatters Mr. Yale with the assurance, that "what is forming at New Haven might wear the name of *YALE COLLEGE*," if he would but endow it with the suitable munificence, and recommends to him his friend, Mr. Dummer, with whom he might concert "the methods in which his benignity to New Haven might be best expressed."

On the other hand, writing to Governor Shute in 1718, and venting his accustomed spite against Harvard College, as being "under a very unhappy government," (by which is meant President Leverett's,) he betrays his consciousness of his own meanness in these singular words. "Your Excellency's incomparable goodness will easily discern the *intentions of this letter, and leave it and its writer covered under the darkest concealment.*"

* See extracts from Cotton Mather's, and from Judge Sewall's Diary, — Appendix, Vol. I. pp. 482-494. Also Christian Examiner, New Series, Vol. VI. pp. 245-252.

When Dr. John Eliot wrote his Biographical Dictionary, a work,

But there are yet heavier charges than those of vanity and ambition against Cotton Mather. His conduct through the whole of the witchcraft delusion betrays a selfishness and cruelty, for which the utmost allowances we may make for the contagious fanatacism of the times furnish no apology. And

which, notwithstanding its typographical inaccuracies, abounds with just and discriminating delineations, he had not probably seen the diaries of the Mathers, which later times have brought to full light. But while he allows to the younger due credit for his learning, and even ascribes to him "superior abilities than to the old gentleman," he says, "Dr. Cotton Mather discovered often a levity of mind, a strange kind of vanity, a fondness for punning, and making remarks inconsistent with the character of the age. He had acquaintance with books, but did not understand human nature; yet thought he had a claim to all the reverence from his brethren and the people, which his father's age as well as prudence gave him." "Twice he thought himself a candidate for the President's chair, and kept days of fasting, that he might know how to act upon the occasion; but he was disappointed." — *Eliot's Biographical Dictionary*.

With what ill-temper Cotton Mather could write under such disappointments, or when from any cause displeased, the extracts to which we have referred from his diary, fully show. In his jealousy of Leverett, and hatred of a College, over which he was not called to preside, he did all in his power to injure it, by raising up a rival in Connecticut: and writing to Saltonstall, Governor of that State, he says, "When the servants of God meet at your Commencement, I make no doubt, that they will deliberate on the interests of education and of religion, and not suffer an interview of your best men to *evaporate in such a senseless, useless, noisy impertinence, as it used to be with us at Cambridge.*"

And even after the death of President Leverett, when the grave, to which he was himself fast hastening, might have softened his asperities, he was capable of the wanton calumny of denouncing Leverett, in a letter to Mr. Hollis, as "*an infamous drone.*" The kind-hearted Hollis was struck with astonishment at such an attempt to depreciate so distinguished a head of the College, and wrote back, desiring an answer by the first opportunity, "why he brands the memory of that man, now dead, with such a character." "But," adds Mr. Quincy, "it was Mather's custom to speak and write in moments of passion with great license concerning any one whom it was his interest or his will to disparage."

From Judge Sewall's diary we extract to the same purpose the following curious passage.

"1701. October 20. Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkin's shop, and there talked very sharply against me, as if I had used his father worse than a negro. He spoke so loud that the people in the street might hear him.

"Mem. On the 9th of October I sent to Mr. Increase Mather a haunch of very good venison. I hope in that I did not treat him worse than a negro."

evidence, too clear to admit a controversy, confirms the judgment which President Quincy pronounces, however that judgment may seem to differ from the blind and partial opinion of some of his contemporaries. Dr. Colman, his generous and forgiving rival, "who, more than any other clergyman, had been the object of Mather's attacks," in a funeral sermon, which he magnanimously offered to his memory, expresses "his wish to draw a veil over every failure," and intimates to his brethren the prophets, that they have the mantle of Elijah, wherewith to cover his infirmities." But, adds our author, happily contrasting at the same time the characters of Leverett and Mather,

"Time, however, has unavoidably lifted that 'veil,' and thrust aside that 'mantle,' which the tenderness of his friends and professional interest desired to spread. Letters and diaries of his contemporaries, as well as his own, have cast a light upon his character, of which it is impossible for history, with any regard to truth, not to avail herself.

"Through her faithful medium, Cotton Mather must be transmitted as an individual of ungovernable passions and of questionable principles; credulous, intriguing, and vindictive; often selfish as to his ends, and at times little scrupulous in the use of means; wayward, aspiring, and vain; rendering his piety dubious by display, and the motives of his public services suspected, by the obtrusiveness of his claims to honor and place; whose fanaticism, if not ambition, gave such a public encouragement to the belief in the agencies of the invisible world, as to have been one of the chief causes of the widest-spread misery and disgrace, to which his age and country were ever subjected." — Vol. I. p. 346.

To the same purpose, and with like retributive justice, he thus speaks of Chief Justice Stoughton, who bore a still more odious part in those awful trials for witchcraft.

"If it were possible, it would be grateful to throw the mantle of oblivion over the part acted by Stoughton in that tragedy. But the stern law of history does not permit. The high station he held for so many years in the Province, as commander-in-chief; the acceptable manner in which he conducted himself in this office; his popularity with the clergy, the chief eulogists and historians of that time; his noble donation to Harvard College; above all, the number, among the most influential in every rank and profession, implicated as actors, or as applauding or acquiescing witnesses of that appalling drama, have

been the occasion of less strictness of investigation, and a more politic tenderness of statement than are due to truth or justice. There is no class of public men towards whom history should be more inexorably severe than to those, who, through fear, passion, or policy, lend themselves to popular excitements, and become panders or instruments of the gross desires, wayward humors, or furious rage of a multitude. The truth, painful as it is, cannot be concealed. On no individual does the responsibility of the sad consummation of that excitement rest more heavily than on William Stoughton. Cotton Mather may have had more agency in its origin and progress; but the countenance it received from the court of justice gave vitality to the epidemic rage, and deprived innocence of its security, and terminated the cruel tragedy in blood." — Vol. I. pp. 177, 178.

We gladly turn from this painful part of a history, less of the College than of individuals, to the honored names to which we have already alluded, of Leverett and Colman; — men who were not only pillars of the College and of the State, but ornaments to the age in which they lived, and worthy of a perpetual remembrance. The Presidency of Leverett was at once one of the longest and one of the most honorable in the annals of the College; and the yet longer ministry of Colman, who, after Dr. Sewall, was chosen as successor to Leverett, but declined the honor, was sustained by gifts and virtues, by a sound learning, a classic taste, and a true piety, that have given him a place with the most distinguished divines, that not New England only, but Christendom itself, can boast. "In high intellectual power, few men in the province surpassed Dr. Colman, and he left not a purer heart among his survivors." But though "he was second to none of the clergy of that day in character and influence, and departed full of years and honors, his intellectual light and moral worth unclouded, and his Christian light brightening to the last," and though, too, during his protracted ministry of nearly fifty years, "scarcely an individual of distinguished merit or rank departed life without receiving a due tribute from his pen or his pulpit," it is a curious fact, noted by Mr. Quincy, that "except his own colleague, William Cooper, no one of the active, able, professional brethren by whom he was surrounded, ever preached, as far as can be ascertained, and no one ever published, a funeral sermon or eulogy in token of respect for his memory."*

* "The state of religious parties at the time of Dr. Colman's death," says Mr. Quincy, "probably caused the silence of the clergy on an

It was during the administration of President Leverett, that the elder Hollis commenced his donations to Cambridge. Even as early as 1690, his attention had been directed to the College, "in consequence" — and here it is instructive to mark the accidental circumstances, from which, in the course of human affairs, lasting consequences proceed — "of his being named one of the trustees in the will of his maternal uncle, who had made it the object of a noble bequest, and who thus unconsciously introduced Harvard College to the knowledge and notice of the greatest of its early patrons."

Mr. Quincy, who has suffered no benefactor to Cambridge, great or small, of the earliest or of the latter times to pass unnoticed,* bestows just and eloquent praises upon Thomas Hol-

occasion, which usually excited their sympathy and eloquence." "It would have been difficult for that division of the clergy, whose religious view coincided with those of Dr. Colman, to do justice to his theological course, without awakening controversies, which the different sects of the Congregational church were unwilling to renew." — Vol. II. p. 77.

* Among the early benefactors of the College, whom the faithful gratitude of its historian has commemorated, and among the proofs of the lively interest that infant seminary awakened in the friends of learning and catholicism abroad, the curious reader will be pleased to find the names of *Theophilus Gale*, author of "the Court of the Gentiles," and still more of *John Lightfoot*, the learned master of Catharine Hall, in Cambridge; a leading member of the assembly of divines at Westminster, where he never failed of his presence, with his little Hebrew Bible in his hand, and was counted the very oracle of his brethren for his rabbinical learning. No one, to this day, can consult his "Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations upon the Gospels," without some benefit, and justly is he numbered with the most illustrious of English Divines. He is entitled, also, to a place among the distinguished benefactors of our College, for he bequeathed to it his whole library, of which, however, no official record remains, and "at this day, its value would have been unknown, but from an incidental mention of it in the account of the loss of the college library, by fire, in 1764."

Gale, also, was among the eminent theologians and philosophers of his times. He died in England, in the reign of James the Second, and "bequeathed his library, one of the most select and valuable in the possession of a private individual of that day, to Harvard College, and it constituted, for many years, *more than half of the whole college library.*"

In a copious catalogue of the donations to the College during the seventeenth century, in money, lands, books, or pieces of plate, many curious items are exhibited; as "a fruit-dish, sugar-spoon, and silver-tipt jug." Mr. Richard Sprague bequeathed to the College thirty ewe sheep; Mr. Richard Herr one great salt and one small trencher salt. John Ward of Ipswich gave a legacy obtained in horses.

lis. His various and munificent donations ; his singular Catholicism, and not less singular forbearance ; his gentleness, truly Christian, and unwearied bounty, even when his feelings and wishes, nay, his commands about his own money, were strangely disregarded, exhibit a fidelity of attachment to the College, and a "patient continuance in well-doing," which command our fervent admiration. Of his most important benefaction, — not for its pecuniary amount, which scarcely exceeded twenty-six hundred dollars, or one hundred and fifty dollars of annual income, but for the religious controversies, which at different periods it has excited, — the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, a minute investigation and a strict historical account is given. The whole subject, as occasion demanded, has been again and again considered, in the pages of the *Examiner*,* as well as in other contemporary journals, and cannot here be renewed. But, if any one seeks a full and impartial account ; if any one would know precisely what Mr. Hollis was, what were his purposes, and what his acts in relation to his Professorship of Divinity in Harvard College, let him turn to this history, and, unless his wishes or his prepossessions strangely blind him, so that he *will* not come to the light, he cannot fail of instruction. One of the longest chapters of these volumes is occupied exclusively with the investigation. The characteristic integrity of the historian, and his freedom from professional bias, are the pledges of his impartiality. We quote a few passages, from which may be inferred, as afterwards will be distinctly seen, the result.

"The religious spirit of Hollis was elevated and comprehensive. It is difficult to conceive of a charity more truly regulated by the principles of Christianity, than that evidenced by the whole tenor of his correspondence with the College, and its officers ; 'envying not ; vaunting not ; seeking not its own ; not easi-

Among the earlier benefactors are the honored names of Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Thomas Temple, Sir Henry Ashurst, Sergeant Maynard, John Dodderidge ; and, as Mr. Quincy happily says, "conjoined with these in the spirit of kindness for our institution, there exist on its records names of benefactors, of whom nothing is now known, except the example and the blessing of their bounty ;" who not of their fulness, but of their poverty, cast in their offerings.

* See *Christian Examiner*, New Series, Vol. II. September, 1829. Article, *Thomas Hollis*.

ly provoked ; rejoicing in the truth ; believing all things ; hoping all things ; enduring all things.'

" Attached to his Baptist faith, with a firmness, which admitted neither concealment nor compromise, he selected for the object of his extraordinary bounties, an institution, in which he knew those of his faith were regarded with dread by some, and with detestation by others ; and where he had reason to think, as he averred, that the very portrait of a Baptist, though a benefactor, would be the subject for insult. Yet he suffered neither his affection nor his charity to fail, being actuated by the elevated motive, that it was more catholic and free in its religious sentiment than any other institution existing at that period. In establishing conditions for enjoying the benefit of his bounty, he claimed no concession, he made no exclusion. He required only, that the Baptist faith should not be deemed a disqualification for partaking his bounty, or for being a candidate for his professorship. In order to place an insurmountable barrier against the imposition of artificial creeds, woven in words of men's devising, he made the simple provision, that the only articles of faith, to which the Professor on the Divinity foundation, which he established, should be required to subscribe, was, ' his belief, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners.'

" Thus did this noble and generous spirit break away from the thralldom of sects. It is delightful to contemplate a benefactor thus divested of all that is mean, and vain, and selfish ; opening the hand of his charity without the dictation of party spirit ; guiding himself by the oracles of God, and not by the inventions and worldly devices of men ; fixed in his own faith, yet candid in judging, and charitable in construing, the faith of others. ' I love them,' he writes in a letter to Dr. Colman, ' that show by their works, that they love Jesus Christ. While I bear with others, who are sincere in their more confined charity, I would that they would bear with me in my more enlarged. We search after truth. We see but in part. Happy the man, who reduces his notions in a constant train of practice. Charity is the grace, which now adorns and prepares for glory. May it always abide in your breast and mine, and grow more and more.' " — Vol. I. p. 233, 234.

Again ;

" Being a Baptist himself, and being about to found a Professorship of Divinity, and to extend, in other ways, a helping hand to an institution under the influence of men, with whom the divine right of infant baptism was an essential article of their

creed ; and making on his part no condition, that Baptists should be preferred, it was a fixed purpose of his mind, that Baptists, on account of their faith, should not be excluded from any of the advantages of his bounty. This fixed intent appears from the tenor of all his letters, and was the extent and the limit of the influence of religious opinion on his mind.

“ Such was the foundation of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, as it was first conceived and laid by this eminent benefactor ; with no words of technical or theological art ; with nothing mysterious, equivocal, restrictive, or doctrinal, prescribed by way of qualification of the Professor or students.

“ Neither does it appear, from any word or intimation in his correspondence, that he asked or contemplated any other rule or restriction, except that Baptists should be regarded, in relation to the application of his funds, on the same footing as other denominations of Christians. He inquires of Colman, ‘ how much will be called an honorable stipend for his Professor,’ and asks him to ‘ explain more largely that matter ’ (the want of a Divinity Professor) ‘ to him.’ He had, indeed, several times inquired of Mr. Colman, ‘ in what manner he had best express his gift.’ In every instance this inquiry had relation, as appears by his letters, to the income of his funds, intended for the benefit of ‘ poor and pious young men.’ His letters bear traces of his belief in those general doctrines, in which all the prevailing sects of Christians throughout Christendom at that day concurred ; but they contain not a word indicative of a design or desire to use the power his wealth conferred, to establish his belief as a standard for future times.” — Vol. I. pp. 240, 241.

“ It now becomes,” says Mr. Quincy, “ a curious and interesting subject of investigation, how this unshackled, free condition of the first foundation of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity was attempted to be changed ; how these attempts were met by the generous and catholic spirit of Hollis ; and by what means words were introduced into formal statutes, subsequently signed by Hollis, and a contemporaneous construction of them given, so as to make this most liberal of all minds to appear in after times as a founder of a religious test, in an institution into which such test had never been introduced, and but once attempted, and then rejected ; and, what is more wonderful still, how such a course of proceeding was pursued, as to make Hollis apparently acquiesce in such a contemporaneous construction of these introduced terms, as should allow a belief in the *divine right of infant baptism to be an examined and required article of a Professor’s faith under statutes in which he had expressly provided, that the belief his professor should declare was, ‘ that*

the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners,' and under 'orders concerning this disposition of his moneys sent to New-England, that none should be refused on account of his belief and practice of adult baptism.'

"The records of the College, illustrated by contemporary documents and well-known history, will render this investigation both easy and satisfactory." — Vol. I. pp. 241 242.

And, finally, having pursued the inquiry through more than twenty pages, he thus expresses the result ;

"The investigation, it is believed, has resulted in establishing, beyond any reasonable question, the following points ;

"1. That the Professorship of Divinity, as it first came from the hands of Hollis, was absolutely without restriction or qualification ; and not only free from any sectarian test, but so broad and unequivocal in language, that no sectarian test could be extracted or deduced from it.

"2. That the terms, out of which the attempts to establish a test have grown, were of New England invention and transmission.

"3. That Hollis, by providing that the only declaration required of his professor should be, 'his belief that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners, and that he promise to explain and open the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and uprightness, according to the best light that God shall give him,' established his professorship upon the broad basis of a belief in the Scriptures ; a foundation wholly inconsistent with a required belief in any specified sectarian points or creeds.

"4. That the constructions, which substituted, in place of the simple declaration required by Hollis of his Professor, an examination and declaration of faith in all the high points of New England Calvinism, including a belief in the divine right of infant baptism, could not have received the approbation or consent of Hollis ; and that there is no evidence, or reasonable ground to believe it was ever communicated to him, or known by him to the day of his death." — Vol. I. pp. 262, 263.

To the arduous, but successful Presidency of Mr. Leverett, followed that of Mr. Wadsworth ; though not until Doctors Sewall and Colman had successively declined the appointment. Mr. Wadsworth had been thirty years the pastor of the First Church in Boston ; and this, doubtless, was his appropriate place. Both President Quincy and Mr. Peirce, in his judi-

cious history,* unite in honorable testimonies to his worth. But we incline to the judgment of the candid Eliot, that "he was better fitted to be the pastor of a church, than master of the school of the prophets." His studies had been confined to theology, and though respectable as a divine, he held no claims above the multitude of his brethren. Cotton Mather, in the bitterness of his spleen at his own disappointment, complained, that Dr. Sewall was chosen for his *piety*; and we are tempted to believe, that it was for some respectable qualities of the individual, rather than for any eminence of gifts or attainments, — possibly to avoid the alternative of choosing Mather himself, — that good Mr. Wadsworth was preferred. The state of the institution during his administration was, as we shall soon see, troubled and disorderly, and the President's house not being finished, and being unable to hire one, he and his family had scarcely where to lay their heads. It should be added, that he accepted the office with extreme reluctance; that his health began to fail soon after he entered upon it; but, such was the general estimate of his worth, that "his death," says his biographer, "was lamented with more than ordinary demonstrations of sorrow."

With the Presidency of Mr. Wadsworth, closes the first and most important volume of this College history. As belonging to the latter part of its first century many interesting facts are exhibited, and topics discussed, on which we might easily dwell. Among these the claim of the tutors, as "Fellows of the House," that is, resident officers of the college, to be chosen as "Fellows of the Corporation," in preference to non-residents; a claim, revived by the resident instructors in 1824, and after long discussion in successive meetings of the overseers refused and denied.† The claims, also, of two episcopal clergymen, Dr. Cutler and Mr. Myles, the one rector of King's Chapel, the other of Christ Church, in Boston, to seats in the board of overseers; claims strenuously urged by the whole episcopal body, and pursued by Dr. Cutler through a series of years with an arrogance and pertinacity, not justified even by

* See Peirce's History of Harvard University, a work, which, though of necessity superseded by the present as an authority, still remains the honorable monument of the diligence, fairness, and ability of its excellent author.

† See the various publications, to which the claim of the resident instructors in 1824, 1825, gave rise, all which are distinctly cited by Mr. Quincy, Vol. II. pp. 338, 339.

his eminent learning, yet not unnatural to one, who with the fresh zeal of a convert from Congregationalism, had embraced the most intolerant notions of his adopted church ; * to which may be added, though at a later period, the effects of the preaching of Whitefield, and the calumnies which with a peculiar effrontery, imperfectly atoned for by a subsequent repentance, that restless and eloquent enthusiast assailed the College, and with it men older and wiser than himself. These, we say, and various other subjects, are, in the course of this history, and according to their weight, fully and impartially discussed.

Of the studies, discipline, and morals of the College at various periods, we find, in the nineteenth chapter, some curious illustrations. We of these days are too ready, perhaps, to believe that the former times were times of subordination and peace ; when at the presence of the aged, the young men arose and stood up, and fathers and masters, tutors and governors, had but to speak, and were obeyed. But even as far back as three thousand years, the king of Israel, that keen observer of his own times, rebukes this error, and instructs his generation, that thus to judge is not wise. Accordingly, in these faithful pages of Mr. Quincy, we learn, that " great excesses, immoralities, and disorders occurred about the period, to which we have arrived. Such was the tendency to excess on Commencement day, in distilled liquors, meats, and other sensual delights, even during the vigorous Presidency of Judge Leverett, that the corporation and overseers were constrained to pass votes prohibiting them ; and, as this was not sufficient, they were accustomed to visit the rooms of the commencers on that day, to see that the laws were not violated. Punch appears to have been a peculiarly favorite beverage, but its obvious tendency to strength induced the corporation absolutely to prohibit it, till some changes having, with progress of time, taken place in the mode of preparing it, the corporation, several years after, " passed a vote, that it shall be no offence, if any scholar shall, *at Commencement, make and entertain guests at his chamber with punch.* But Commencement occurring only once a year, this restriction was deemed insupportable ; and both boards concurred in a vote, that it shall be no offence if the scholars, in a sober manner, entertain one another and strangers with punch,

* See Dr. Eliot's Biography, Article *Cutler*.

which, as it is now usually made, (June, 1761,) is no intoxicating liquor;" a reason, justly observes Mr. Quincy, more plausible than satisfactory, as neither board could be present to control the mixture.

The disorders on Commencement, from the populace, that crowded the Common, as well as from the students entertaining their friends, seem to have demanded the perpetual vigilance of the government. The aid of the civil authorities was often called in. An interview was held, in 1733, between the corporation and three justices of the peace in Cambridge, to concert measures to keep order. On one occasion, the President made a formal request to the Governor, praying him to direct the sheriff of Middlesex to prohibit the setting up of booths and tents on those public days; and, finally, as the measures that had been taken were ineffectual, a vote was passed in 1727 by both boards, "that Commencements for time to come, be more private than has been usual; that the day for them should not be fixed, but be determined from time to time, as the corporation should see fit."

Nor was insubordination wholly confined to the students. Disaffected, or bad-tempered tutors sometimes failed of their duty, and gave ill-example. President Wadsworth complains in his Diary of Commencement, 1731, that three of the tutors were absent, (two of them purposely,) and the third, though he stayed at the College, did not appear to act as tutors used to do in keeping good order," &c. &c.

Of the earlier discipline of the College, it is remarked, that it unquestionably partook of the austerity of the period, and was in harmony with the character of the early emigrants. By a law of the General Court, of 1656, "the President and Fellows were empowered to punish all misdemeanors of the youth, either by fine or *whipping* in the hall openly, as the nature of the offence shall require, not exceeding ten shillings or ten stripes for each offence." The tutors, we are informed, chastised at discretion; and on *very solemn occasions*, the overseers were called together, either to authorize or to witness the execution of the severer punishments. In one instance, — we trust it was solitary, — a student, having been convicted of "speaking blasphemous words," was sentenced to be publicly whipped before all the scholars; to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the president; and to be suspended from taking his bachelor's degree. The religious rites

attending the bodily infliction must have been scarcely less trying to the culprit than the infliction itself. The sentence was first read publicly in the Library, in the presence of the scholars, who were all summoned to the scene, and of such of the government and overseers as chose to attend. "The offender, having kneeled, the President, (Dr. Hoar,) prayed; after which the corporal punishment was inflicted, and the *solemnities*," concludes Mr. Quincy, "were closed by another prayer from the President." But this was in 1674; and belonged to a dispensation, that, we rejoice, early passed away.

The general state of the College, about the close of its first century, and for several years after, appears to have excited both the solicitude of its friends, and the jealous hostility of its enemies. But, though there was good reason for inquiry, there was none for the bitter reproaches and lamentations, with which, as in later days, it was assailed by the combined malice and intolerance of an exclusive sect. From the time of the charter of 1692, there was never wanting a party, moved by religious, or political, or personal considerations, of whom Paul Dudley and Cotton Mather were chiefs, who chose to misrepresent its condition. They complained, "that religion, one great end of the society, was much upon decay; that the worship of God in the College was scandalously neglected; that gross immoralities were growing, and many customs that have a bad influence were indulged."

But these and other charges, sometimes artfully insinuated, and at others vehemently urged, were "probably understood at the time to be the exaggerated expressions of a sectarian party of considerable power, then struggling to regain their ancient ascendancy, both in the College and the Province, and who were willing to attribute the disorders incident to the period,*

* That the evils complained of belonged, as Mr. Quincy asserts, to the period, and were not peculiar to the College, sufficiently appears from the testimony of writers of that day. Among others, the celebrated President Edwards, in a joyful acknowledgment of the changes effected during the period, technically called "Revival of Religion" in 1742, thus describes the moral condition of the people, previously to this happy reformation.

"There is a strange alteration almost all over New England among the young people. They have been brought to forsake worldly pleasures and delights, that before they were exceedingly addicted to, and

to the influences of the liberal religious spirit, in which its administration had been conducted. President Leverett was never a favorite with this party, neither was President Holyoke, who not long after succeeded him ; and when, in 1740, Mr. Whitefield appeared, they were eager to avail themselves of his zeal, and his gifts, to subserve their hostility to the College. They found in him a willing instrument ; and, ignorant as he was of the real condition of things, he so lent himself to their purposes and his own ambition, as to utter reproaches against the College, of which his better judgment, and the rebukes of the eminent men he had rashly reviled, caused him to repent. Was it for such as Whitefield, a young enthusiast himself, violating by his fanaticism the laws of his own College in Oxford, to revile a College in New England, to which he was a stranger ? or to traduce men like President Holyoke and Professor Wigglesworth, and Winthrop, and Appleton, Colman, Mayhew, and Chauncy, the very pillars of the community, and of the Church, most of whom, by their eminent gifts and virtues, had earned a place with the excellent of the earth before Whitefield was born ? Yet, into the ears of this fervent youth did the enemies of the College, — of whom the race remain to this day, — insinuate their suggestions,* trusting to his eloquent lips to give them utterance ; and, as says the judicious Hooker, “ he that goes about to persuade a multitude

in which they had placed the happiness of their lives ; their frolics, their vain company, their mirth and jollity, their late hours, and corrupt communications. In vain did the ministers preach against these things before, and in vain were laws made against them to restrain them. But now there is a great alteration among old and young as to drinking, tavern-haunting, profane speech, and extravagance in apparel. Some of a fashionable, gay education, many beaux and fine ladies, have become wonderfully altered ; and in some whole towns, where there was scarcely an appearance of religion, or, indeed, nothing but vanity or vice, is witnessed now a marvellous change.” — *President Edwards's Thoughts on the Revival of 1742.*

* Of the insidious and artful methods of opposition, sometimes adopted by its enemies, we find a curious illustration in a highly graphic account, given by President Leverett, of a meeting of the overseers, November, 1718, and cited at length in this history. It is too long to be copied here ; but our readers may turn to it, and they will readily agree, with our author, “ that as a characteristic indication of the passions and policy of the factions, which then agitated the province and the board of overseers, and, as a part of the history of the College, it is worthy of preservation.” See pp. 220 – 224, Vol. I. and Appendix, No. XI.

that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want favorable hearers," there were not wanting those who heard him gladly.

But we have insensibly advanced into the second century, and with it into the second volume of this interesting history; and are thus brought to the Presidency of Rev. Edward Holyoke, an honored name, transmitted to an honored son, whose more than a century of years, graced by his patriarchal virtues, have been within the personal observation and reverence of many of this generation.* By a singular concurrence of circumstances, rarely witnessed amidst the collisions of religious parties, Mr. Holyoke, whose liberality of opinions was more than suspected, received the unanimous vote of both boards; a distinction which no other President had received, and "reserved," we are told, "for an individual, towards whom one half of the corporation had at first placed themselves in open opposition, and to avoid whose election, Mr. Cooper, the pastor of Brattle Street, was chosen without any previous consultation with him." The graphic delineation of his character by his friend and brother, Mr. Barnard, in Marblehead, is said to have fixed Governor Belcher in his favor. "Can you vouch," asked the Governor, "for Mr. Holyoke's Calvinistic principles?" To which question it was replied, "I think Mr. Holyoke as orthodox a Calvinist as any man; though I look upon him as too much of a gentleman, and of too catholic a temper, to cram his principles down another man's throat." "Then," said his Excellency, "I believe he must be the man;" and, adds Mr. Quincy, "he was the man." Now, when it is remembered, that Mr. Barnard had himself been opposed by the Mathers, when a candidate for the New North in Boston, on account of his own liberality, and that Governor Belcher was confessedly more distinguished for the urbanity of manners and his hospitable living than for any severity of religious dogmas, it may easily be conjectured that it was not the strictest form of orthodoxy, which either was seeking. A choice, thus unexpectedly unanimous, was fortunate for the College. The

* Edward Augustus Holyoke, M. D., LL. D., born 1728, in Marblehead, (of which place his father was, for more than twenty years, a minister, previously to his removal to Cambridge,) became a resident physician of Salem, in 1749, and died amidst the universal respect of the community, March 31st, 1829, being an hundred and one years old. See Dr. Brazer's Funeral Discourse.

administration of President Holyoke, commencing in 1737, a few months after the death of Mr. Wadsworth, and continued to 1769, still remains unprecedented for length in the annals of the College, and was marked throughout by the firmness, judgment, essential kindness with authority, and unshrinking fidelity, which were the prominent traits in the life of this venerable man. Nor in the course of the thirty-two years, in which "he sat as chief," were there wanting occasions for the exercise of these qualities. Disorders arising from the commons, that fruitful source of trouble, alike to the appetites and the wills of young men; the unfortunate appointment of Mr. Greenwood to the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics, contrary to the wishes, not obscurely intimated, of the much enduring Hollis himself; the extraordinary conduct of Tutor Prince, only to be accounted for by his gross intemperance, and the painful yet indispensable measures, which the government, after long forbearance, were compelled to adopt in the dismissal of both these unhappy individuals; the visits of Whitefield to New England, with the general effects of his preaching in the churches, and the more direct effects of his calumnies against the College;—these, and occasional disturbances among the students of other kinds than those already mentioned, from which no College for any long period is wholly free, and which the utmost wisdom or clemency in its governors cannot hope to prevent, were among the trials of Mr. Holyoke's Presidency. Add to all these, the dreadful calamity in 1764, by the loss of Harvard Hall, and of the precious library that was consumed with it; and the effort, sustained by all the influence of Governor Bernard, backed by all the enemies of Cambridge, to establish a rival institution in Hampshire,—an effort, too, which, but for the vigorous and able resistance of Drs. Chauncy and Mayhew, and others, of their day,* would have been successful;—and it will be easily seen, that no ordinary gifts were demanded in the Head of the Col-

* The remonstrance addressed to Governor Bernard, and the circular letter against a charter for a new college, were drafted by Dr. Mayhew. It is given at length in the Appendix, and bears noble marks of its parentage. It was approved by Dr. Chauncy; "and," adds Mr. Quincy, "it cannot be doubted, that the zeal these divines displayed in support of Harvard College, and the friendship subsisting between them and its governors, were deemed indicative of the religious tendencies of the seminary, and were the occasions of alarm to all the strict adherents to the high Calvinistic faith."

lege for such exigencies. Happily, they were found in President Holyoke. His strength was as his day; and the dignity of his character, and power of commanding respect, — (“oculorum ipse coniectus observantiam coegit,”) — his independence and firmness, especially as exhibited in his last official act, are the subjects of eloquent praise with all his biographers.*

Within the brief Presidency of Dr. Locke, who succeeded to Mr. Holyoke in 1770, and abruptly retired in 1773, and the subsequent election of Dr. Langdon in 1774, who, like Mr. Wadsworth, found himself better qualified “for the milder task of teaching a church of Christ,” than of guiding a College in stormy times, and also resigned in 1780, we are conducted to the period of the Revolution. Previously to this event, and during the colonial state of Massachusetts, “the intimate union,” as Mr. Quincy remarks, “which subsisted between Harvard College and the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the province, unavoidably connected the interests of the seminary with political events;” while the dependence of the College on the bounty of the General Court, especially for the salary of the President, as appeared fully upon the election of Dr. Colman, contributed to that respectful observance, with which the governors of the College were accustomed to treat the dignitaries of the state. “On the accession of every governor, the corporation solicited his patronage by a formal address, invited him to the College, and received him there with great respect and ceremony.”

As an example of this, and a pleasant illustration of the manners of the times, Mr. Quincy cites, from the records of the corporation, the following account of the visit of Governor Shirley to Cambridge, in 1741, and of the formalities, usual on such occasions.

“The Governor came up to Cambridge with an escort of forty men, including officers, accompanied by the Council, a great many other gentlemen, and a considerable number, who came over the ferry, by the way of Charlestown. He was met a mile off by the gentlemen of Cambridge, the tutors, the professors, masters, and two of the bachelors.” (The President, it will be observed, as became his dignity, remained at home.) “Both the

* See Professor Sewall’s Funeral Oration, quoted here, and Peirce’s history, which closes with a just and highly honorable character of President Holyoke, drawn up by one of the fellows of the College.

meeting-house bell and the College bell were rung. He was received at the door of the College exactly at eleven o'clock by the President and Corporation, and escorted to the Library, and, thence, all moved to the Hall; the Corporation first, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor next, and then the other gentlemen. When all were seated, the President ordered the Orator to begin; and when he had finished, the Governor rose, all rising with him, and made a very fine Latin speech, promising the College all his care for the promoting of learning and religion.' A dinner was given, suited to this imposing occasion, of which one hundred and twenty partook. 'The Governor sat about an hour, and then, after the 101st psalm, (emphatically entitled 'the magistrate's psalm,' and used on the ancient election days,) was sung, he, with the rest of the gentlemen, went off, about five o'clock, with his guard." — Vol. II. pp. 88, 89.

But military guards have proved, in every age, — and the present yields no exception, — but expensive embellishments to academic festivities. Not participating so fully in the intellectual satisfactions of the day, they are reluctantly driven to the more animal. And on this particular occasion they appear to have taken ample satisfaction, even beyond the expectation of the corporation. "For in April ensuing," adds the author, "when the steward presented an account of thirty pounds for their entertainment, they voted, "that it be allowed, but *that this be no precedent for entertaining the said guard for the future.*"

So, also, at an earlier period, (1716,) when Governor Shute visited Cambridge, he was received by President Leverett and fellows, with a solemnity and pomp,* hardly admitted by the republican notions of these days; but wholly in accordance with the spirit of a people under a foreign monarchy, and willing to recognise in the persons of their magistrates, the representatives of royalty. Some remains of these formalities, such as the military escort of the Governor to Cambridge on Commencement-days, and such as were observed in the reception of President Monroe, and of Lafayette, by Dr. Kirkland, may have been within the observation of multitudes among us.

The incidents, to which we have just referred, though they belong to an earlier period, easily connect themselves with another, to which we hasten. For it was in this same disposition to do honor to the honored, and to conciliate "the

* See Appendix, No. 33, Vol. I.

powers that be," that in 1773, during the Presidency of Mr. Locke, — the period to which, in this rapid survey of its history, we have now arrived, — that the corporation elected John Hancock, the popular patriot, and the future governor of the State, to the office of treasurer of the College, and consequently to a seat in their own board. "In this selection," as Mr. Quincy observes, "they consulted their patriotism more than their prudence;" a very gentle form of speech, certainly, to denote one of the most unfortunate measures that the corporation ever adopted; a measure, that proved in its result singularly vexatious to themselves, injurious to the College for the time being, and highly discreditable to the individual, who, with all his glory, and fame as a patriot, was willing to cling to a most responsible office, involving the whole pecuniary interests of the College, without discharging its duties; and when, after long patience and forbearance, the Corporation were compelled to appoint a successor, he refused for years to make any settlement of his accounts. And at last, after an interval of twenty years from the time he assumed the office, dying a debtor to the College, he left to his heirs and executors an adjustment, by which the College incurred a loss, exceeding in amount the whole value of his boasted donations.

Such are the grave and melancholy facts touching Governor Hancock's treasurership of Harvard College. They rest upon no loose conjectures or uncharitable surmises, but upon documents well authenticated, and testimony not to be impeached. These documents are exhibited in this faithful history, with the diligence and impartiality, the candor and the honesty, pervading the whole work. We have not space to present them, but every reader may examine them for himself. And if his prejudices do not strangely blind him, if he is not so infatuated by the very name of John Hancock, as to overlook, in his admiration of the patriot, the demerits of the man, he will be constrained to admit, that never was a trust so tenaciously held, or so wretchedly fulfilled; that never were patience or forbearance put to severer tests than was the patience of the governors of the College with their treasurer; and never, too, was the consciousness of possessing the public favor more audaciously abused, to the neglect of sacred obligations and in defiance of just rebuke.*

* Twelve years passed away before Mr. Hancock, after earnest application, by letters from the President, by remonstrances of the cor-

As long as he could rely upon the popular voice, or as long as he retained the authority of office, he was insensible alike to remonstrance and to entreaty; and this was his conduct as treasurer of the College, while at the very time, as the Governor of the state, he was President of its board of overseers, and in his annual speeches had the face to commend the seminary to the favor and patronage of the commonwealth!

There are those still remaining of the present generation, to whom these facts have been familiarly known; and who, in reading them as they are here set forth, only find revived their faithful recollections. Others there are, to whom they may be new, but who needed not the knowledge of his extraordinary treasurership, to qualify their admiration of this remarkable personage. That Governor Hancock has been extolled above the proportion of his merits, it will be difficult to deny. It was his felicity to flourish at a period, when patriotism covered a multitude of faults. How far even his patriotism, which was chiefly exhibited in the devotion of his wealth to the public, grew out of the accident of his large inheritance, and whether posterity would have had cause to celebrate even this virtue,

poration, and committees of the overseers, could be persuaded to make settlement of his accounts. He was reminded once and again of the embarrassments and sufferings, to which his negligence subjected everybody connected with the College. He was told of the professors and the tutors in distress for moneys long due to them, but which could not be paid, from the want of access to the treasury. He had carried away all the books and documents of his office with him to Philadelphia, and thither the corporation were compelled, at great inconvenience, to send an express messenger to reclaim them. See pp. 193, 194. It was not till 1785, when he had given notice of his intention to resign the chief magistracy, and found he was about to lose the influence of office, that he condescended to make any acknowledgment of the moneys due. But even then, no payment either of principal or interest was obtained. Two years after, when Mr. Hancock succeeded in displacing Governor Bowdoin, that accomplished scholar and Christian, and recovered his official authority, the only answer, and that a verbal one, which he deigned to give to the remonstrances of his successor, "that the college could not subsist without receiving its interest money" was, "*It is very well.*" Nor was even that interest received until two years after his death, in 1793, nor the principal till five or six years later; and the heirs of Mr. Hancock, as is stated by Treasurer Storer, refusing to pay compound interest, the College incurred a loss fully equal to, as we have seen, if it did not exceed, the whole amount of his donations, excepting his subscription of 500 pounds, which was but the payment of the *intended* legacy of an uncle, from whom he inherited all his fortune.

had he been like Samuel Adams, without fortune, we will not presume to determine. But after yielding all that can be fairly claimed for the patriot, we still must return to the man ; and, for ourselves, we can find only a very qualified respect for one, patriot though he be, "whose interest and policy it suited to postpone debts, and gratify his friends ;" who put his name to public subscriptions, which he did not pay ; who suffered his barber for years to supply him with wigs, and left him to depend for his recompense on the tardy justice of his executors. Charitable allowances, unquestionably, should be made at all times, for general habits of negligence, by which the individual himself is usually the greatest sufferer ; and still larger allowances for that crisis, when the whole country, after the struggles of the Revolution, was embarrassed, when debts were more readily contracted than paid, and a general indulgence was both expected and given. But no "change of times" can release from unchangeable obligations ; and a trust, sacred as that of the treasury of Harvard College, voluntarily assumed, and in this instance, as has been seen, most tenaciously held, must at all hazards be discharged.

"From respect," says Mr. Quincy, — and we are happy to relieve our readers of this painful topic, by quoting, in conclusion, his just and eloquent words, — "from respect to the high rank, which John Hancock attained among the patriots of the American Revolution, it would have been grateful to have passed over in silence the extraordinary course he pursued in his official relations to Harvard College, had truth and the fidelity of history permitted. But justice to a public institution, which he essentially embarrassed during a period of nearly twenty years, and also to the memory of those, whom he made to feel and to suffer, requires, that these records of unquestionable facts, which at the time they occurred were the cause of calumny and censure to honorable men,* actuated solely in their measures by a sense of official fidelity, should not be omitted. In republics, popularity is the form of power most apt to corrupt its posses-

* Mr. Hancock ventured to be offended by the course adopted by the Corporation, relating to his treasurership ; and in a characteristic letter to President Langdon, writes ; "He is much surprised at the contents of the President's letter, *as well as at the doings of the gentlemen present, which he very seriously resents ;*" and among his friends, there were not wanting those, who, in their zeal for Mr. Hancock, charged the governors of the College with injustice for dismissing him.

sor, and to tempt him, for party ends, or personal interest, to trample on right, or to set principle at defiance." — Vol. II. p. 209.

And in nothing, not even the signal ability with which it is written, does this history more entirely command our admiration, than in the unshrinking faithfulness with which the author has done homage to Truth. Nor is there any thought, excepting only that of the final revelation of all things, when the remotest past as well as the remotest future shall be alike exposed, more suited to awaken the caution of such as, by doubtful means or in neglect of sacred obligations, would obtain a present popularity, than the thought, that long after they have gone, and even their descendants are sleeping in the "caverned earth," the record of their foibles or their delinquencies shall be revived, and become the wonder or the grief of generations they have never known. There is thus a retribution even of the present life, superadded to the inflictions of conscience, from which there is no device or power in the grave to escape; and the great lesson, which these volumes, in more than one example solemnly impress, is, that History holds out alike its warnings and encouragements. It speaks, as with the impartial righteousness of heaven, "If thou doest well, thou shalt be accepted. If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." While it embalms the virtues of the faithful, and makes the memory of goodness immortal, it transmits also the record of our faults. And how commanding is the motive, which History thus supplies to every man ambitious of its honors, to do ever the thing which is right, and avoid the wrong, not only that he may find peace for himself at the last, but that they who come after him may have no cause to blush, when errors, that perhaps his repentance had blotted out in the sight of heaven, shall, in the course of researches, having different and distant objects, be revived, and, by "the unyielding fidelity of truth," be perpetuated.

The administration of Dr. Langdon, which, brief as it was, included the most trying period of the American Revolution, was closed by his abrupt retirement,* and was followed by some

* From the history of this period, the reader may easily infer the causes which led to Dr. Langdon's most sudden resignation; and in them he will also perceive that with highly respectable attain-

important changes in the relations of the College with the State, to which, as they have an important bearing upon its present condition, Mr. Quincy distinctly adverts.

“The constitution adopted in 1780, by the people of Massachusetts, materially altered the political influence of parties within the State, of which Harvard College soon began to experience the effects. From the foundation of the College, the support of the President had been chiefly dependent on the annual grants of the Legislature. The uncertain and precarious nature of this support led the friends of the seminary to attempt to obtain a fixed salary for that officer.* In January, 1781, a petition was presented to the legislature by the corporation, and signed in their behalf by James Bowdoin, John Lathrop, and Ebenezer Storer, praying that a permanent and adequate salary might be annexed to the office of President of the College.” “The memorial received no countenance from the General

ments and irreproachable character, he was ill-fitted for an office, sufficiently arduous, at all times, but specially so amidst the political excitements of that time. The combination against him by the students was, indeed, of the most extraordinary character. With an effrontery and insolence hardly conceivable, they met and passed resolutions, charging President Langdon “with impiety, heterodoxy, unfitness for the office of preacher of the Christian religion, and still more for that of President.” “There was not a shadow,” adds our author, “for any one of these charges, except the last, of which the spirit in which this insolence was received, may be considered as an evidence. Yet these resolutions were passed unanimously, and twelve students, selected from the three upper classes, were appointed to wait upon President Langdon, and invite him to resign his office.” He was totally unprepared for such a blow, and unwisely yielded to their effrontery. That the students of themselves could have taken such steps it would be difficult to believe. It is a matter of record and tradition, that they were prompted and encouraged, — and that not secretly, — by a cabal within the College, of whom James Winthrop, the Librarian, is distinctly mentioned as the foremost.

* In a recapitulation of the grants made by the colony of Massachusetts to the College, Mr. Quincy states, that from the foundation of the seminary in 1636, to the Presidency of Leverett, in 1707, the receipts of the Presidents from the public treasury, on which his living depended, never exceeded, and probably never equalled, the sum of one hundred pounds a year. Dr. Mather’s salary, in 1693, was reduced to fifty pounds. That of Vice-President Willard, who succeeded Mather, was sixty pounds.

Among other curious facts relating to the early resources of the College, we also find, that in 1654, the whole of the annual “real revenue” of the College, applicable to its general purposes, was only twelve pounds. This was, indeed, its “day of small things.”

Court. It suited the policy of that body to keep the President of the College dependent. Even then a party began to appear, prepared to put an end to all grants for his support, and in a few years their efforts were successful. Finding the attempt to obtain a permanent salary hopeless, the corporation proceeded to elect the Rev. Joseph Willard President, and to place him, like his predecessors, in a state of dependence on the good will of the Legislature," — who, upon the confirmation of the choice by the Overseers, made a grant of three hundred pounds, specie, "for his first year's service, and for removing his family to Cambridge."

Dr. Willard, having been pastor of an ancient church in Beverly nearly ten years, and having held the office of tutor in Greek for six years in the University, was called to its Presidency in 1781. His inauguration took place with the usual solemnities. But the governor's address and the reply of the corporation on that occasion afford an amusing example, — to which others might be added, — of the want of correspondence in the compliments of official addresses with the actual position of things. It was said of old, "that one augur could not look another augur in the face without laughing;" and the gravity of the "Honorable and Reverend Board," knowing as they did, and as others well knew besides, their relations with His Excellency, must, we conceive, have been severely taxed for that hour.

"Governor Hancock in his speech called the College 'in some sense the parent and nurse of the late happy revolution in this Commonwealth;' and the corporation replied, that 'he had proved himself an affectionate and liberal son.' 'And yet,' says Mr. Quincy, '*the former was at this very time embarrassing and setting at defiance this 'parent and nurse of the revolution,' and the latter threatening and all but prosecuting this 'affectionate son,' for the non-fulfilment of the simplest and most incumbent of all obligations.*'" * — Vol. II. pp. 243–245.

* A still more remarkable example is given of the extravagance and hollowness of official addresses in the description of the reception of Governor Hutchinson at the College, in March, 1771. He was received with much circumstance and pomp, "at the line of the county, by the citizens of Cambridge, and at the steps of Harvard Hall by the President, Fellows, and Tutors; from thence a procession was formed to the meetinghouse, the members of the House of Representatives attending, where a handsome gratulatory oration was pronounced by William Wetmore, A. B., in Latin. His Excellency "made an elegant

With the Presidency of Dr. Willard, continued through the long, and with the exception only of Mr. Holyoke's, the unprecedented term of twenty-three years, we are conducted to a period within the familiar recollection of many of the present day, who were united with him in official relations, or who passed their academic course under his influence. "That influence," says Mr. Quincy, "was uniformly happy, and throughout his whole connexion with the institution, he enjoyed the entire confidence of his associates in the government, the respect of the students, and the undeviating approbation and support of the public." Though his manners to the students were characterized by somewhat of the severity of the ancient school of discipline, and he was accustomed to address them as children rather than men, yet none that knew him could doubt the essential kindness of his heart, or his paternal solicitude for their welfare. There are those, who even to this day, gratefully recall his considerate and efficient benevolence.

The brief term of the excellent Dr. Webber, closed by his sudden death in 1816, was the era of an important change in the constitution of the Board of Overseers, which in its leading features remains. The brilliant, dignified, and prosperous administration of President Kirkland, which followed, has been so recently the subject of eulogium, that it needs not the honors, which though due ability might be wanting, affectionate veneration would be eager to bestow.

In the rapid and imperfect survey we have taken of these volumes, many events, interesting in their nature, and many names illustrious in the annals of the College, as its guides or

reply in the same language," testifying his affection for the seminary in which he had been educated, and his regard for literature. The services closed with an anthem, the strain of which was, "Lo! thus shall the man be blessed, who fears the Lord. For thus saith the Lord, from henceforth, behold! all nations shall call thee blessed; for thy rulers shall be of thy own kindred, your nobles shall be of yourselves, and thy governor shall proceed from the midst of thee." —

"A species of beatification," remarks our Author "sufficiently exalted, and somewhat questionable in point of taste, if not of sentiment, considering it was made in the lifetime of the individual, and uttered in his presence, at a moment when he was the object of the abuse and denunciation of a party, to which all the members of the corporation belonged."

its benefactors, have of necessity been omitted. Among other topics, the successive improvements in the courses of study; the various endeavors to elevate the standard of learning within the University; its connexion at different periods with the religious and political excitements of the day; the consistent, dignified, and judicious course pursued by its governors amidst the calumnies and opposition of its enemies; its enlarged and generous catholicism maintained under every successive administration, amidst all the denunciations and contrivances of sectarian zeal; the characters and services of some of its eminent teachers or friends, to whom we have not adverted, — of Professors Winthrop, Wigglesworth, and Tappan; of Barnard, the friend of Holyoke, of Mayhew, Eliot, Cooper, and Chauncy, of Bowdoin, the Lowells, Parsons, Bowditch, and Gore, — these, as they are faithfully exhibited or eloquently portrayed by our author, we should gladly, had our limits permitted, selected for our special notice.

We close with our grateful acknowledgments to President Quincy for his noble work. Of its typographical beauty and embellishments we have already said something, and might easily say much. Some inaccuracies of date or place we have noticed, from which no work of such extent is ever free; and which not even the hundred eyes of Argus, watching thirteen hundred pages like these, could effectually prevent. Possibly, too, in the arrangement of some of the multifarious materials belonging to a history embracing subjects so various, a more exact method might in a few instances have been adopted. But, for the indefatigable diligence and learned research with which these materials, specially of the first volume, have been assembled; for the fulness, candor, and impartiality, with which they are now exhibited; for the light reflected thus on the history, not only of the College, but of the times; for the clear evidence presented of the liberal and enlightened spirit, by which, far above all others in the land, this institution of our Pilgrim fathers has, from its birth even until now, been characterized; for the intimate connexion he has traced of its literary with its religious influences; for the fearless integrity with which, as a true lover of virtue, he has exposed whatever in its governors or its teachers was of evil, and the eloquent praise with which he has honored its host of great, and wise, and good; in fine, for what he has here done to establish the claims of Harvard College in the successive periods of its

history, to the gratitude and veneration of her sons in all coming time — we offer him in their name, nor will they deem it presumptuous, our cordial thanks. He has made the alumni and the lovers of Harvard his debtors; and when a generation yet to be born, shall be assembled within its walls to celebrate the completion of another century, their justice and their gratitude will alike be engaged to unite his name with the most honored of those whom his faithful history will transmit to posterity.

F. P.

ART. V. — *A Book for the Sabbath; in Three Parts.*
I. *Origin, Design, and Obligation of the Sabbath;*
II. *Practical Improvement of the Sabbath;* III. *Devotional Exercises for the Sabbath.* By J. B. WATERBURY.
Andover: Gould, Newman, and Saxton. 1840. 12mo.
pp. 222.

THE Sabbath is often termed a *positive institution* of religion; and by *positive* in this connexion many understand *arbitrary*, that is, void of intrinsic efficacy or worth, and binding only because commanded. Did revelation prescribe institutions, which were, so far as we could see, entirely arbitrary, we prize so highly the positive element of religion, that we should feel ourselves bound to recognise them and to urge their observance, assured that the mere act of obedience would bring a blessing with it, and also that divine wisdom might have lodged intrinsic sources of blessedness, where we could not clearly trace them. But our religion proposes no such trial of faith. The reasonableness and utility of all its institutions we can clearly perceive and demonstrate. They are all made for man, and not man for them. But on this account we deem them not the less, but the more truly positive institutions. Thus we place the Lord's Supper on the highest possible ground of obligation, when we represent it as a request made for our sakes by the dying Redeemer. So, in pleading for the Sabbath, we would represent it as an institution made for us, and therefore, more sacred and binding than a law imposed upon us. We much prefer placing considerations

of intrinsic utility and right in the fore-ground; for by this arrangement the least strain is borne upon arguments drawn from authority and testimony, inasmuch as, when we have shown the intrinsic expediency and worth of an institution, we have rendered the historical fact of its divine appointment antecedently probable.

In illustrating the benefits, which flow from the Sabbath, we would first look at the institution in a merely physical point of view. Regarding man simply as a mechanical agent, and asking the question, how in a series of years he may be enabled to accomplish the most labor, ample experience has shown that six working days in the week are worth more than seven. Where there are no regular intervals of repose, the laboring man is soon broken down, and becomes a spiritless slave, incapable of half the effort and endurance, which sit lightly upon him, who has one day of rest in seven. The farmer in hay-time or harvest-time, the merchant in a busy season, the hard-working mechanic feels, when Saturday night comes, as if he had used all his strength and energy, and could toil no longer. Did he rise the next morning to resume his task, it would be with a heavy heart and a listless hand. But the day of rest passes over him, and he is renovated, and goes back to his store, field, or workshop with fresh vigor and an elastic spirit. It is idle to agitate the question, whether the Sabbath is as old as the creation. It is part and parcel of the creation. The commandment, "Remember the Sabbath day," is written upon every muscle and sinew in man's frame, and on every fibre of his heart; and he, who remembers not the day in holy rest, must remember it in lassitude and unprofitableness.

The written commandment includes cattle as well as man; and experience has shown that they physically need the Sabbath no less than man. As regards the disposable strength and animal spirits of man, and of animals employed in agricultural and other regular labor, it is capable of demonstration, that one day in seven is just about the requisite proportion of rest, that a more frequent day of leisure would generate idle habits, (as has been the case in Catholic countries, where numerous holidays have been superadded to the weekly Sabbath,) while longer periods of unbroken toil would lead to over-effort and exhaustion. During the French revolution, as is well known, the National Assembly abolished the Sab-

bath, divided the year into *decades*, and set apart one day in ten for the worship of Liberty and the commemoration of patriots of the Robespierre school. But they could not enforce this new division of time in the rural districts. The peasantry still kept the Sabbath, and left the *decade* to the thriftless populace of the cities. "Our cattle," said they, "know the Sabbath, and will not work when it comes." Well might it have been said to the infatuated nation, "the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."

The Sabbath is also of great worth as an agent of civilization. How little opportunity would there be for reflection, for the growth of meditative wisdom, for plans that look beyond the passing moment, in a community, where, from the beginning to the end of the year, there was an unbroken round of grovelling toil. It is this periodical break in the routine of life, this diversion of the thoughts into purer channels, that gives freshness and vigor to the general mind, that imparts the impulse to improvement, that creates the leisure, and cherishes the thoughtful habits, which alone can make the experience of the past available. It is the Sabbath, that calls men's minds off from the working-day world to the region of the imagination and the intellect,—to unearthly questionings and musings,—to philosophy and poetry. Hence the popular taste and demand for literature. Hence the existence of an intellectual department in society,—of classes of men whose business it is to instruct, enrich, and edify the public mind. Were there no Sabbath, there would still be a literature, for the few master spirits of the race would shine with a radiance, which surrounding darkness would be equally unable to comprehend and to quench. But these few greater lights would beam as solitary stars,—there could not exist the galaxy of taste, and pure sentiment, and rich thought, in which Christendom rejoices. The literature that sprang into being would become the property of the few, not of the many,—the great mass of the people would never find leisure to grow conversant with it, except so far as it might assume the lyric form and ally itself to music. This distinction we may trace, as we think, between Hebrew and classic literature and civilization. The Old Testament constituted, in the strictest sense, a national literature,—its records were equally familiar to young and old, rich and poor. Hebrew civilization too, though its cul-

minating point was far below that of the Periclean or the Augustan age, yet penetrated the whole community, permeated every vein and artery of the body politic. Grecian and Roman civilization and literature, on the other hand, were confined mainly to the circles of rank and wealth, leaving the great mass of the people unbenefited. This contrast no doubt may be traced to the joint action of many causes; but can we be mistaken in attaching the highest importance to the fact, that in Judea the whole population had one day in seven sequestered from the dusty arena for calmer thoughts and gentler duties, while upon Athens and Rome there dawned no stated day of rest and devotion.

We value the Sabbath in a domestic point of view. The rust of the world would soon corrode the chain of domestic sympathy and love, were it not burnished at these frequent intervals of holy rest. Think of the lives, that the great majority of men, (the rich no less than the poor, or even more than they,) lead during the six working days,—so engrossed by labor, or harassed by business as hardly to snatch the hurried meal with their families,—often forth at day-break, often unable to close the day's accounts till a late evening hour, rarely getting sight of the younger members of their families, and meeting the elder only at hurried moments in the course of the day, or under circumstances of extreme weariness at its close. Were this the outline of the whole year's life, how could families be acquainted with each other, that is, with each other's minds, sentiments, and feelings? The same individuals might for half a century call the same house their home, yet still there would be no commingling of soul with soul, no true sympathy, no growing up of a common taste and interest in subjects of an elevated and spiritual character. The father would be the mere steward of his household; and the dwellers beneath his roof would be little more to him than pleasant fellow-lodgers at an inn. But in the Christian family, how eagerly is the Sabbath hailed, as a resting season from cares and duties, which have kept its members so much divided through the week, as a day when they may all go to the house of God in company, and may at home blend their voices in the songs of Zion, and their hearts in gratitude and prayer at the family altar,—as a day when the affections, hallowed by religion, may go forth unchecked, when the long absent may be commended to an unslumbering prov-

idence, when those who have gone to the house not made with hands, join their hosannas with the praises of the surviving, when the golden chain let down from heaven binds each with all and all to God! Yes. The Sabbath has attached to *home* a worth and an interest, which can be derived from no other source, has cherished and refined those invaluable departments of art and taste, which have the adornment and comfort of domestic life for their object, and stands second to none of the agencies, through which are shed upon us the holy and happy influences of Him, in whom all the families of the earth are blessed.

We recognise new claims in the Sabbath on our grateful recognition and religious observance, considered with reference to the eager enterprise of a young and growing people. Our nation is said to be characterized beyond all others, for the universal earnestness and haste in the scramble for wealth and preferment, for the anxiety and hurry of all to be rich, and to be great. And if, in the midst of this breathless struggle for gain, and for honor, everything right and sacred is not trampled under foot, if the mercantile character of the community is marked, with rare exceptions, by honesty, and sterling, high-minded integrity, if there be a surviving seed, however small, of true patriots, who love the country they profess to serve, all this, under God, is to be attributed (we say not, to Christianity, for where would its doctrines and counsels find an entering wedge amidst closely crowded cares and conflicts in the thoroughfare of daily life? but) to the Christian Sabbath, which has called the merchant and the statesman to their homes and to themselves, which has checked the ardor of pursuit, which has let in the solemn light of eternity upon the treasures and honors of earth, which has uttered words of duty and accountableness, which has held up the infallible mirror to the conscience and to the life.

Once more, in those seasons of fierce political excitement, which so frequently recur among us, who can say, to what a height the inflamed passions of partisans might mount, and in what desolating floods of violence and uproar they might discharge themselves, were it not for these merciful breathing-spells, when he, who stilled the winds and waves on the Galilean sea, hushes the billows of human strife, and calls the stormy wrath of man to praise him. On the six days, men remember their grounds of animosity and mutual conflict; on the seventh,

they, who have zealously contended with each other through the week, meet face to face in the house of their common Father, stand side by side to sing the praise of the Most High, pledge the Redeemer of souls in the same cup of blessing. Thoughts of tolerance and of kindness break in upon the bigotry and hard feeling of the week. The voice comes home to them, and will force its way to their hearts, "All ye are brethren, — why fall ye out by the way? why wrong ye one another?" They cannot help cherishing a fellow-feeling for each other, as they bend around the same altar of religion, and listen to the same word of love and reconciliation. And, though the morrow renews the strife, they return to it with a slackened and reluctant interest, and with a hope, awakened by the period of hallowed calm, for the speedy close of the conflict, and the reunion, in quietness and harmony, of the distracted body politic.

In a republic, the Sabbath has a most important political significance and worth. It is the day of equal rights. It levels all factitious distinctions. It owns no difference of wealth, or caste, or color; but sheds its blessed beams on all alike. It recognises man as he is, stripped of every brief decoration, the child of sorrow, sin, and death. It recognises man as he is, in the determined counsel of Him, who is no respecter of persons, the brother of angels, the co-heir of Jesus. It at once humbles pride, and lifts the lowly from the dust, by presenting those paramount facts above all others, — the omnipresent eye, death, and the judgment-seat of Christ. It promotes a healthy sympathy and mutual interest among all classes in society. It commends the poor to the charity of the more highly favored; and numberless are the fountains of refreshing for the heavy-laden and relief for the destitute, which flow from the Sabbath assembly. There no privileged order steps before the rest to seize the places about the altar. No lordly pontiff motions the humble worshipper to a distance, to give this and that man place. But the smoke of his sacrifice goes up with the rich man's offering; he is remembered in the prayers of the congregation; he is borne in mind in the preaching of the word; he is bidden in his weariness and poverty to the sacramental feast of him, who, having nothing, yet became the heir of all things. The high and low, the rich and poor together, learn of true honor and durable riches. Feeling their equality in the sight of God, they cease to be infatuated on the one hand, or disheartened on the other, by the various lots which a wise Provi-

dence has assigned them for a little season, assured, that, as the diamond on a queen's brow was dug from sordid earth, so will not the obscure and needy be forgotten in the day, when God shall make up his jewels. Thus is quelled, on the one hand, the spirit of exclusive and contemptuous aristocracy, and on the other, the tendency towards agrarianism. The haughty separatist and the factious leveller are both rebuked; and the true foundations of republicanism are laid in that essential equality of birthright and destiny, which needs no outward additions to make itself perfect.

It is a striking fact, that the friends both of tyranny and of anarchy have recognised the republican tendencies of the Sabbath, and have, in numerous instances, sought to undermine its obligation, and to violate its sanctity, as a step of prime importance towards the destruction of liberty and law. When the British crown was most active in its encroachments on the liberties of the people, the sanctity of the Sabbath was made a chief point of attack; and edicts were issued from the court, and published from the prostituted pulpits of a sycophant church, encouraging the people to make that day a season of noisy and licentious sports. The levellers of France, when they hewed down all rank, insulted all merit, and abolished all right of property except the right of plunder, abrogated the Sabbath, and sought to blot out its traces by recasting time in a mould of their own; for they knew that, though the altars were laid low, and the priests silenced, the first day of the week would still roll over the heads of the down-trodden people with its silent lessons of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come. In like manner, the radicals and levellers of our own land and day, who from time to time lift their voices against law and wholesome subordination, fail not to cast the first stone at the Sabbath, its institutions and its guardians.

But, while these temporal considerations attach the highest importance to the Sabbath, we may regard it as absolutely essential to the administration of religion, to the existence of a visible Church, to the conversion of sinners and the progress of the Gospel. Religion is social in its character. It unites families and communities. While it richly blesses the individual soul, it bestows numberless favors, which men share in common, and for which it is meet that they should pray, and render thanks together. But public worship implies a Sabbath. An assembly cannot be collected, unless the time be appointed and

known beforehand, nor can a frequent assemblage be conveniently gathered, except at stated intervals. For so solemn an act as divine worship, it seems fitting, that the same day should be observed throughout a whole community, that business and amusement may not interfere with devotion ; that the worshippers may find nothing going on about them, that should take off their attention from their sacred duties, or disturb and wound their feelings in performing them. Hence, natural decency would prescribe for the stated days of worship such a degree of rest and such an air of solemnity in the community at large, as might comport with the dignity of the service, in which the devout were occupied.

Yet again, were there no Sabbath, it is to be feared, that to the many there would be no holy time. The Sabbath calls man from the world, and prompts to devotion. These blessed days are

“Wakeners of prayer in man, his resting bowers,
As on he journeys in the narrow way,
Where, Eden-like, Jehovah’s walking hours
Are waited for as in the cool of day ; —
Days fixed by God for intercourse with dust,
To raise our thoughts and purify our powers ;
Periods appointed to renew our trust, —
A gleam of glory after six days’ showers.”

Were it not for the Sabbath, how could you get the ear of the worldly and indifferent for the concerns of salvation? How could you induce the sinner to pause long enough in the chase of present pleasure or gain, to think of fleeing from the wrath to come? You go to him in the rush of business or the tide of gayety, and he puts you off till a more convenient season. On the Sabbath the convenient season has arrived. The world is still ; the congregation is gathered, and he joins the multitude that keep holy time. He may go to scoff, he may go to criticise, he may go merely because others go ; but still he is there, and God may strike home the arrow of conviction, and send him forth to repent and pray.

Without the Sabbath, how little could there be of spiritual communion among the religious ! Religion would find a resting-place in some few retired and contemplative souls, but they would be veiled from each other’s knowledge, hidden in the great mass of worldliness and impiety. And in each, for lack of sympathy, would the torch of faith burn with a faint and

flickering flame ; and ever and anon would these solitary lights be quenched not by God's angel of dissolution, but in the living death of apostacy and unbelief. We cannot stand alone. As trees in a forest, we shelter and sustain each other. They, that fear the Lord, must speak often to one another, and must move hand in hand towards heaven. The communion of the saints is the life of individual piety. Communion makes the Church, and unites the members to the Head ; and without the Sabbath, communion would cease.

Thus have we seen, in various ways, that the Sabbath was made for man. It has, therefore, a far firmer foundation than its place in the decalogue. It must needs be as old as the creation, and Moses must have spoken truly when he dated it from the birth of man. The law of the Sabbath is a law of natural religion ; and he, who would set it aside, must take, not only anti-Christian, but atheistical ground, and deny that there is a God, before whom the people should bow, and the great congregation worship.

The considerations, which we have offered, predispose us to look upon the Sabbath as an *express divine appointment*, in the common sense of the term. We find the commandment, *Remember the Sabbath day*, drawn out so clearly in the unwritten word, that we expect to see it republished in the Scriptures. Nor are we disappointed. We find the Sabbath mentioned at the very outset of the Mosaic history, and see repeated traces of the division of time into weeks, and of the sacredness of the number, *seven*, in the biography of the early patriarchs. We trace back the traditions of nations, that were severed from the common ancestral tree, long before the birth of the Hebrew commonwealth ; and discern among them early vestiges of this same division of time, and these same sacred associations. The earliest classic poets, Hesiod and Homer, make express reference to the sanctity of the seventh day. When mention is first made of the Sabbath in the history of the Israelites, it is not named as a new institution, but in terms that seem to imply that it was well known, though during their stay in Egypt the captive people had no doubt grown lax in their observance of it. "This is that which the Lord hath said, Tomorrow is *the rest of the Holy Sabbath* unto the Lord ; bake that which ye will bake to-day," &c.*

* Exodus xvi. 23. The articles *italicised* above are wanting in the

The place, which the Sabbath occupies in the decalogue, sets it apart from the Jewish ritual law, and makes it a portion of that great moral law, which God means for all nations. The other nine precepts of the decalogue are all of a purely religious and moral character, and are confessedly of universal obligation. Why should the law of the Sabbath find its place in this venerable company, if it were barely a ritual precept? Our Saviour and the apostles repeatedly refer to the decalogue as containing God's moral, universal, and unchangeable law, in contradistinction to that ceremonial law, which was but a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. The prophets, though they knew the worthlessness of sacrifice and burnt-offering, and foresaw and foretold the fading away of the ceremonial law before the brightness of the Messiah's glory, yet urged with vehement zeal the sanctification of the Sabbath, and denounced the judgments of the Most High on those who desecrated it. Our Saviour hallowed the Sabbath by his own example, and habitually participated in the synagogue and temple worship of the holy day; and, by his earnestness on several occasions to prove that works of mercy are an appropriate Sabbath service, he distinctly recognises the sacredness of the day, and abundantly shows, that on this point he came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law.

In memory of Christ's resurrection and man's new birth to the hope of immortality, the first day of the week was taken by the infant church instead of the seventh. On three successive first days the Saviour met with his disciples, and breathed his peace upon their assembly. All through the apostolic history and epistles, we find traces of the uniform setting apart of this day to religious worship and communion; and St. John observed it in the solitude of his exile in Patmos; for, says he, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day." All ecclesiastical history, (fortified in several instances by the unimpeachable testimony of profane historians,) testifies to the uniform observance of this first day of the week as a day of religious wor-

Hebrew; but their omission does not to our eyes essentially change the aspect of the sentence, or the inferences which might be drawn from it. Moreover, the use of the Hebrew article is often, for aught that modern grammarians have been able to prove to the contrary, so exceedingly arbitrary, that to found an argument on its use or omission in such a connexion as this would be unworthy of a tyro in biblical criticism.

ship, communion and almsgiving. Wherever, in earlier or later times, Christianity has been the established religion of communities or nations, this day has also been marked by the general suspension of secular labor. Thus has the piety of ages hallowed the Lord's day, nor do we fear for its permanence. In ground thus firm is the institution of the Sabbath rooted; nor do we by any means apprehend, that those who dig to its roots will find there the least speck of rottenness or symptom of decay. But yet the rash and reckless diggers may not be able to replace all the soil they remove. Those, who drag an institution so sacred into the arena of public disputation in an assembly, the greater part of whom know not wherefore they come together, while they cannot divorce the Gospel and the Sabbath, may alienate vain and light-headed people from all things sacred, may countenance and embolden those, who prefer obeying their impulses, and following their instincts to the imitation of Jesus, and may sow the seeds of much lawlessness and skepticism. Should they see fit to call another convention, we would respectfully suggest, that they call it not, as before, in the name of the "Friends of the Sabbath," &c.; for, while the friends of an institution should hold themselves able and ready to defend it at every point, it hardly becomes them to invite attack for it, and to set it forth as a mark for gratuitous feats of pugilism.

It remains for us to speak of the due observance of the Sabbath, — of the degree of rest and of religious consecration, which it demands. The decalogue enjoins the entire sequestration of the day from secular labor to religious uses. And can anything less than this answer the purposes of a Sabbath? If the Sabbath is indeed made for man, must it not be such a Sabbath, as was enjoined in the commandment from Mount Sinai? An entire day in seven is needed for the animal repose of man and beast, for the diversion of men's minds into higher and purer channels of thought, for the cultivation of home affections, for the cooling down of partisan strife. For its spiritual uses, the consecration of the entire day seems equally needful. Thus only can the seed of the word fall into a prepared soil, and remain there undisturbed long enough to germinate. Were the Sabbath a day of worship, without being a day of rest from the labors and pleasures of the week, it is to be apprehended, that most of the worshippers would be of the class described by our Saviour, who, "when they have heard, go forth, and are chok-

ed with cares, and riches, and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection." Man needs solemn and protracted pauses in his worldly career, — seasons when he can look behind, before, within, — periods of prolonged self-communion, no less than of public praise and prayer; and this want can be met in no way so generally and so effectually as by the consecration of the whole Sabbath.

Rest from secular cares and labors we name, then, as indispensable to the due observance of the Sabbath. When we consider to how great an extent the life of man is a life of mechanical toil, we cannot but attach a high value to this one feature of the sacred day. In a great manufacturing city, when we are awakened at day-break by the work-bell, and see the hundreds of operatives pouring out of the factory gates two or three hours after sunset, when we see forges, whose fire goes not out by night, and hear the ceaseless din and clatter of machinery, which would have made the builders of Babel worse confounded, we can realize something of the blessedness of the command, "In it [the Sabbath] thou shalt do no work." When, on the Sabbath, we witness the cheerful countenances, the neat attire, the orderly deportment of that same population, when we see them flocking in long array to their houses of worship, or taking their places as teachers and pupils in the Sunday-school room, when, as we pass their dwellings, we hear the frequent hymn, and every window, and open door, and sunny face tells its story of contentment and gladness, and especially when we read the evidences of pure thought, refined taste, deep reflection, and rich fancy in the literary essays of those who lead this life of unremitted toil for six days in the week,* we find that the Sabbath is faithful to its trust, that it suffices to shed its hallowing influences over the care and labor of the week, that God gives on this day "the food of seven."

* We would commend our readers especially to those, who imagine the factory system to be degrading or demoralizing, the *Lowell Offering*, a literary periodical, established and conducted by the female factory operatives in Lowell, and composed *entirely* of articles written by them. The numbers, that have already appeared, are characterized by great purity of taste, and delicacy of thought and expression, are faultless as regards literary execution, and contain some articles of singular beauty and merit. We doubt, whether a committee of young ladies selected from the most refined and best educated families in any of our towns or cities, could make a fairer appearance in type, than these hard-working factory-girls are making.

"Thou shalt not do any work," says the commandment, "thou, . . . nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant." Little do that family reverence the Sabbath, who themselves are never absent from the house of worship, but who leave at home, toiling for the superfluous entertainment of themselves and their guests, those, to whom "Sunday shines no Sabbath-day." Much as we are prone to despise ceremonial laws, it were well if Christian families would adopt, for the day before the Sabbath, the good old Jewish rule, "Bake that which ye will bake to-day, and seethe that which ye will seethe, and that which remaineth over, lay up for you, to be kept until the morrow." Let Christians look to it, that, by the remission of all needless cares and burdens, and by the kindly division of those which must be borne, all, and especially they who most need it, have their part in the day of rest.

But how are we to rest on the Lord's day? Not in idleness. That is a brute's, not a man's rest. The affections crave no slumber,—the mind best relieves itself by seeking new channels of thought. The only true repose of the community is that, where heaven absorbs earth, where the affairs of eternity swallow up the concerns of time, where religion quenches strife, subdues passion, chases the money-changers, and rules the day. The true Sabbath rest is well typified by the church bell, whose keen, over-mastering tone, as it is borne through the clear air over hill and dale, excludes every meaner sound, and sends the call to keep holy time to every home and heart. Let the day be hallowed by that regular attendance upon public worship, which is our duty both to God and man, by family devotion and instruction, by religious reading and meditation, by prayer and self-communion.

But, while we carefully exclude worldly gain and pleasure from these holy hours, let it not be forgotten that "it is always lawful to do good on the Sabbath day." To visit the fatherless and widow, the bereaved and desolate; to visit, and relieve the necessities of the poor, to carry a blessing from the sanctuary to the chamber of illness, to gather the lambs of the flock into the fold of the good Shepherd,—these are among the appropriate duties of the Sabbath. Nor need hospitality be forgotten. If we can welcome the stranger to the simple arrangements, the solemn quiet, the chastened gladness of the day, let him come to our homes, and keep the Sabbath with us.

There are two or three mooted points with regard to the observance of the Sabbath, on which we would say a few words before closing. The first has reference to what is commonly called the *strict keeping* of the Sabbath. If by keeping the Sabbath strictly is meant keeping *it religiously*, we would say that it cannot be kept too religiously. Our Puritan fathers did not observe it too religiously. Their fault was that they took a part of religion for the whole, that they forgot that piety has a double aspect, manward as well as Godward, that they omitted to cultivate the social element of religion. They also misunderstood childhood and youth, and attempted to force religion upon the young mind, as they would have clapped irons and hand-cuffs upon a criminal. God never meant that this day of rest and worship should be a day for a man to disfigure his face, to withhold the kindly greeting, and to check the flow of domestic love. Still less could he have intended, that the Sabbath sun should freeze a child's limbs into ungainly stiffness, hush his laugh, or palsy his tongue. Let the Sabbath be made to all, young and old, the happiest day of the week, — let its service be an unconstrained and cheerful service, — let those of tender years be drawn, not driven, — not forced into the senseless form of godliness, but made to feel the beauty and to court the power of true piety.

Another subject on which there has been, as we think, far too wide a diversity of practice among religious people, is the degree to which we are bound for example's sake, to comply with the usual proprieties of the Sabbath, when we might violate them innocently, so far as we ourselves are concerned. Have we a right to let our liberty minister to another's sin? Are we not guilty of an unchristian selfishness, when, for the ease or caprice of the moment, we lightly cast a stumbling-block in our brother's way? As we interpret the spirit of our religion, we deem it a Christian's duty to shun recreation or the show of it on the Sabbath; for, though in thus doing our own pleasure, we might carry with us a grateful and pious mind, we by this course give the whole weight of our example to every form of Sunday dissipation, and the purer our characters, the more harm will flow from our example in this one thing. Travelling on the Sabbath, except for the administration of religion, for attendance on public worship, and on most manifest works of necessity, justice, or mercy, nay, even for these purposes, when it can be well avoided, should, as we

think, be shunned ; for, though we may make the day a Sabbath of the soul, and on a solitary ride, nature and the spirit within may preach to us more eloquently than a human voice could, man, who seeth not the heart, will take shelter behind our example, and the more so, in proportion to our general rectitude of character, and we shall be quoted to justify the whole class of those who treat the Sabbath as if it were of no obligation or worth. It would be well for us in this respect to copy the example of our great Shepherd and Bishop, who certainly stood infinitely higher above the need of ordinances than ever one of his frail disciples did, yet revered every institution and observance that could serve as a fold to the humblest lamb in his flock.

We would now say a word on a subject which has been far from exciting in the religious community the interest which it claims. The Directors of the Western Railroad in Massachusetts, two or three years ago, when their stock was slowly subscribed for, addressed a circular to the clergy of the state, requesting them to preach on the moral and religious benefits which might be expected to flow from these increased facilities of intercourse. Many complied with the request ; but we like best the course adopted by a clerical association in the western part of the state, who addressed to the Directors an earnest petition and remonstrance in behalf of the Sabbath, alleging that no imaginable advantages could compensate for the evils which might flow from its increased desecration by the running of Sunday trains on our railroads. We cannot but apprehend much evil from this source. It is no slight interruption to a village congregation to have a noisy train of cars puffing and rattling past them, or breathing in fiery sighs at a depot hard by, during the hour of public service. A railroad depot too can hardly fail of being the lounge for a constantly increasing company of idlers and Sabbath-breakers.

By running Sunday trains, the whole body of engineers, firemen, and conductors, must needs forego all the benefits of public worship and of the day of rest. The consequence will be, that the most trustworthy men, those who had rather serve God than man, will soon cease to seek an employment which cuts them off from the choicest privileges, and we shall be compelled to entrust our property and lives to men, whom a life without a Sabbath will render more and more unprincipled and reckless. Tendencies of this kind are already discernible

on some of our great routes. Fatal accidents, resulting from the most wanton and guilty carelessness, have already occurred unrebuked on railroads the arrangements of which were originally characterized by extreme caution. Our Sabbath trains cannot run many years, before the management of our railroads will fall into the hands of that class of lawless desperadoes, whose mad pranks with the power of steam have murdered so many hundreds on our western waters. Steam is too mighty and dangerous an agent to be committed to any but the safest and best men; and (we repeat it) the safest and best men will not be found willing permanently to give up their Sabbaths.

When the question of Sunday mails was agitated a few years ago, the community in general acquiesced in the decision, that they were a necessary evil, that they saved more travel than they occasioned; that, were they stopped, they would be replaced by numerous private extras and expresses. This decision may have been just. But the question has assumed new bearings with the change in the mode of transportation on our great mail routes, and it is high time that it were agitated anew. The stopping of our railroad mails would lead to little extra travel; for the letter that is sent from any considerable distance can reach its destination sooner by the mail, that rests on Sunday, than by an express however rapid; and on a long journey, the traveller will consult economy of time, no less than personal comfort, by waiting for Monday's steam, rather than engaging a Sunday extra. Even with this stoppage, the mails would be transmitted with a celerity beyond what the most sanguine among us a few years ago deemed either attainable or desirable. To be sure, news, election returns, prices, European politics, may reach a given point the sooner for travelling on Sunday. But we know not what benefit can flow from this, provided the public communication be rapid enough to prevent individuals from frequently anticipating it for selfish ends. On the other hand, no one can have lived with open eyes in a mercantile community, without perceiving the tendency of Sabbath mails to blend secular cares and plans with religious duties, and to make the business of the past and the coming week overlap the Sabbath. A preacher at least feels that he has sown the seed on stony ground, when before the most solemn and fervent appeals are cold upon his lips, he passes groups of his congregation in loud and earnest conversation over their newly arrived letters and newspapers. In

times of strong political excitement, the Sunday trains and mails lead to a great amount of Sabbath-breaking. We could name post-offices and depots, about which, for several successive Sundays during the last autumn, hundreds of people were convened, (and that near or during the time of public service,) to hear the latest fictions of partisan editors with regard to election returns or prospects. If these scenes are to be repeated, whenever there is a general eagerness for news, *Ichabod* is written upon the Sabbath of our fathers.

But even admitting that the Sunday mails are an unmingled advantage to those for whose benefit they are run, are we to take no thought for the temporal and eternal good of those whom we employ to run them? Is news precious enough to be sought when its price is the souls of men? Shall we be content at the judgment seat of Christ, to plead our deep interests in distant markets and in contested elections, as justifying our quiet abandonment of so large a class of men to the recklessness and depravity of a life without a Sabbath?

No Sabbath trains have ever been run on the Lowell Railroad or its branches; and we cannot learn that any loss to the corporation, or serious inconvenience to the communities interested, has resulted from this arrangement. We learn that the Sunday trains on the Providence Railroad have recently been discontinued, in consequence of petitions from the inhabitants of most of the towns on the route. We cannot but hope that this movement may be followed on the rest of our New England routes. We are well convinced that there is enough of moral feeling and religious energy to effect the desired result, if individuals can be found with courage sufficient to go forward and take the lead.

We have expressed our own opinions on subjects connected with the Sabbath plainly and strongly, we trust, not dogmatically. We shall have accomplished our present purpose, if we have impressed more deeply on the minds of our readers the importance of the institution for which we have been pleading, the evils of its violation, and the necessity of earnest and judicious efforts to ensure its better observance and more general sanctification.

The work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, we take pleasure in commending to our readers, as an admirable manual of Sabbath duty and doctrine.

A. P. P.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Reasons for becoming a Roman Catholic; addressed to the Society of Friends. By FREDERICK LUCAS, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, London. Cincinnati: Published by the Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge. 1840.

THIS work is republished at Cincinnati by the Catholic Society for the diffusion of religious knowledge. Of the author we know nothing except what we learn from the book itself, — that he is a lawyer in London, was formerly a Quaker, and has become a Roman Catholic. The work is interesting, as illustrating the great changes taking place among the Quakers. We suppose, that both in this country and in England, the Society, as a peculiar and distinct religious body, is breaking up. Not only is there a less rigid interpretation of its rules among those who remain members, but many are leaving it and connecting themselves with other sects of Christians.

We believe that no body of men, in proportion to their numbers, have done more to promote the growth of great Christian principles in the world, than the Quakers. The names of George Fox and William Penn are worthy of perpetual honor. They and those united with them adopted and lived out before the world some of the highest principles of our religion; principles which were in their time all but rejected. Their singularities of dress and language, and the very exaggerations into which they fell, aided in attracting attention to these principles. So far as these great laws of the Christian life were concerned, they stood in the van of the world, and the society is now diminishing and apparently dying out, simply because its mission is accomplished — because the great truths and duties around which it was formed are no longer monopolized by itself alone, but in the gradual progress of the world, and not a little through its influence, have been received into other sects. The Friends are ceasing to be a body peculiar and by themselves, but it is not so much, that they have changed their ground and joined others, as that others have joined them, or rather, have adopted their fundamental principles. The Society of Friends, notwithstanding its numbers have always been small, may take to itself the credit, which few sects can, of having materially purified and raised the ideas of practical duty among Christians. And though as a society it should disappear, it will forever live in the good influences which have gone forth from it into the Christian world.

The book we are noticing is interesting on another ground. The author, in accounting for the change in his religious views, attempts to show, that in many points the change was slight, that the Catholics and Friends have an essential agreement in some of their chief and fundamental principles,—and that Quakerism more naturally allies itself with the Catholic Church than with Protestantism. His remarks are ingenious and plausible, but we should suppose little likely to satisfy any one but himself. They are however novel so far as this point is concerned, and on that account perhaps, their appearance is worthy of being chronicled.

According to him, the Quakers and Catholics, although they differ as to what the true church is, agree that there is but one true church. Quakerism, like Catholicism, does not regard itself as a fragment of the Christian body, one among other sects, but as the one true church. As to forms, the early Quakers were the most spiritual among Protestants, and because of this spirituality and because they saw no authority, or life in the religious forms around them, they determined to surrender themselves entirely to the authority and teaching of God. But the forms of Catholic worship, being established by divine authority, and all tending to quicken and invigorate the spiritual life, make the Catholic faith even more spiritual than Quakerism. The same reasons which caused the Friends to reject the lifeless forms of Protestantism, would have led them, had they understood their nature, to adopt those of the Romish Church. In the course taken by George Fox and William Penn, we see the sacred principle of Catholicism striving in unfavorable times to realize itself and to establish itself amid the anarchy of human opinions. Again the worship of both Quakers and Catholics is not only peculiarly spiritual, but this spirituality is dependent on the feeling which both entertain of the close connexion between the supernatural world and human daily life. The tendency of Protestantism has been to do away the Supernatural, while it has been the reverse with the Friends and Catholics. They have both cherished and promoted faith in the Supernatural among men, the latter in all their sacraments and services and in their belief of the infallibility of the Church; the former by their mode of worship and their ministry; and both of them in their belief in particular revelations and in the power of working miracles in modern times. When there is added, on the part of each, the idea of a divine authority, and of a teaching from God in the ministry, a practical acknowledgment of the reality and importance of Christian discipline and mutual supervision and help, he thinks

that the Friends should have far more sympathy with the solemn realities of the Catholic worship, and with its discipline, so favorable to inward stillness of mind and unshrinking faith, than with any of the unspiritual forms and uncertain opinions of Protestantism.

But especially do both systems agree in the great principle which lies at the foundation of each. The Friends differ from all Protestants not merely in believing them in error as to their creeds, but in the conviction that they err fundamentally in the means they adopt to arrive at truth. Not less than the Catholics, they utterly reject the right of private judgment as an arrogant pretence to make the human understanding the judge and censor of the divine counsels. With the Catholics, they reject as absurd and monstrous this great fundamental principle of Protestantism. They agree with the Catholics in recognising the necessity of an infallible guide in faith and practice. But where shall this be found? Whatever may be the value of the Scriptures as an instrument or means, they cannot, in their estimation, be regarded as the ground or rule of faith. With them the infallible rule is the testimony of the spirit within, — divine, inward revelations from God. This, and this only, is the infallible guide to each individual and to the church in all ages, and if its teachings be sincerely obeyed, it will infallibly lead the seeker after divine knowledge into all truth. The Friends and the Catholics, according to the author of this work, do not begin to differ in fundamental principles, till the question arises as to how true revelations are to be distinguished from false — the inward teachings of God's spirit, from the mere imaginations of the man. The Quaker answers; "By their conformity with the Holy Scriptures." The Catholic answers; "By their conformity with the faith and discipline of the Catholic Church." He then endeavors to show at considerable length, that the Scriptures cannot be taken as the infallible standard by which to try opinions and individual revelations, that this standard and infallible guide is to be found only in the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church; and that the Scriptures are to be regarded not as the great guide to religious truth, but simply as a sacred and most useful commentary on the faith and practice of the Church, which is the highest authority in divine truth, and the only certain guide. This introduces a lengthened statement of the grounds on which the Catholic Church rests its claim of authority, and a defence of its most important articles of doctrine and discipline. The book is written in a pure style, and the argument is conducted in a courteous spirit and presented with as much

force as it is capable of being. Any one, however, acquainted with the more elaborate writings of Bossuet or Wiseman, will find little that is novel in his argument, and nothing which has not, as we think, been satisfactorily answered again and again by Protestants. The only thing new is in the comparison between the views of the Quakers and Catholics, a brief account of which we have endeavored to give.

Emancipation. By WILLIAM E. CHANNING. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 1840. 12mo. pp. 111.

ANOTHER word from the slave's persevering friend — slavery's uncompromising foe. The calm discussions of Dr. Channing, coming one after another, what through the celebrity of his name, and their own intrinsic force, have penetrated to every corner of our northern land, and have done far more for the cause of freedom than Abolitionism with all its apparatus of newspapers, tracts, and societies. The present essay was begun for the purpose of extending a knowledge of Mr. Gurney's Letters to Mr. Clay, describing a Winter in the West Indies, and showing what has been the working of Emancipation in the British Islands. The first portion is devoted to this; the remainder, to remarks on several topics suggested by Mr. Gurney's book, and to the consideration of the duties which belong to individuals and to the free States in relation to slavery.

Instead of any minute analysis of the tract, we will give the result of Mr. Gurney's observations in his own words, and add a few extracts from the latter part of the volume. Mr. Gurney first visited Tortola, where on the best authority he was assured, "that freedom was working well in Tortola." In St. Christopher's he was told by the owner of a property that "six years ago (that is, shortly before the act of emancipation) it was worth only £2000, with the slaves upon it. Now, without a single slave, it is worth three times the money. I would not sell it for £6,000." He "asked President Crook, and some other persons, whether there was a single individual on the Island, who wished for the restoration of slavery. Answer, 'Certainly not one.'" In Antigua he found property to have risen on many of the estates thirty per cent. in consequence of Emancipation. Of Dominica he gives equally favorable accounts, and of the important Island of Jamaica. Mr. Gurney recapitulates the principal points of his subject in a few propositions, quoted by Dr. Channing. We copy the heads.

1. The emancipated negroes are working well on the estates of

their old masters. 3d. Real property has risen, and is rising in value. 4th. The personal comforts of the laboring population, under freedom, are multiplied tenfold. 5th. The moral and religious improvement of the people, under freedom, is more than equal to the increase of their comforts. These results are more and better than any had a right to look for, and are a most satisfactory demonstration of the possibility, safety, and policy of Emancipation. Let the reader obtain Gurney's book itself, and read in connexion with it this review of Dr. Channing.

The latter part of the pamphlet is devoted to a consideration of the duties of individuals and of the free States in regard to slavery. The duties of the States he reduces to two heads, both negative. "The first is, to abstain as rigidly from the use of political power against slavery in the States where it is established, as from exercising it against foreign communities." The second is, "to free ourselves from all obligation to use the powers of the national or state governments in any manner whatever for the support of slavery."

"The first duty is clear. In regard to slavery, the Southern States stand on the ground of foreign communities. They are not subject or responsible to us more than these. No state-sovereignty can intermeddle with the institutions of another. We might as legitimately spread our legislation over the schools, churches, or persons of the South, as over their slaves. And in regard to the General Government, we know that it was not intended to confer any power, direct or indirect, on the free, over the slave States. Any pretension to such power on the part of the North would have dissolved immediately the convention, which framed the constitution. Any act of the free States, when assembled in Congress, for the abolition of slavery in other States, would be a violation of the national compact, and would be just cause of complaint." * * * "For one, I have no desire to force Emancipation on the South. Had I political power, I should fear to use it in such a cause. A forced Emancipation is, on the whole, working well in the West Indies, because the mother country watches over and guides it, and pours in abundantly moral and religious influences to calm, and enlighten, and soften the minds newly set free. Here no such control can be exercised. Freedom at the South, to work well, must be the gift of the masters. Emancipation must be their own act and deed. It must spring from good-will and a sense of justice, or at least from a sense of interest, and not be extorted by a foreign power; and with this origin, it will be more successful even than the experiment in the West Indies. In those islands, especially in Jamaica, the want of cordial coöperation on the part of the planters has continually obstructed the beneficial working of freedom, and still throws a doubtfulness over its complete success." * * * "Their next and more solemn duty, [of the free states] is to abstain from all action for the support of slavery. If they are not

to subvert much less are they to sustain it. There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other states, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in framing the constitution, swerved from the right. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. This is not a question of Abolitionism. It has nothing to do with putting down slavery. We are simply called as communities, to withhold support from it, to stand aloof, to break off all connexion with this criminal institution. The free States ought to say to the South, 'Slavery is yours not ours, and on you the whole responsibility of it must fall. We wash our hands of it wholly. We shall exert no power against it; but do not call on us to put forth the least power in its behalf. We cannot, directly or indirectly, become accessories to this wrong. We cannot become jailers, or a patrol, or a watch, to keep your slaves under the yoke. You must guard them yourselves. If they escape, we cannot send them back. Our soil makes whoever touches it, free. On this point you must manage your own concerns. You must guard your own frontier. In case of insurrection we cannot come to you, save as friends alike of bond and free. Neither in our separate legislatures, nor in the national legislature, can we touch slavery to sustain it. On this point you are foreign communities. You have often said, that you need not our protection; and we must take you at your word. In so doing we have no thought of acting on your fears. We think only of our duty, and this, in all circumstances, and at all hazards, must be done.' * * * "The object now proposed [freeing ourselves at the North from all obligation to support slavery] is to be effected by amendments of the constitution, and these should be sought in good faith; that is, not as the means of abolishing slavery, but as a means of removing us from a participation of its guilt. The free States should take the high ground of duty; and to raise them to this height, the press, the pulpit, and all religious and upright men should join their powers. A people under so pure an impulse, cannot fail. Such arrangements should be made, that the word slavery need not be heard again in Congress or in the local legislatures. On the principle now laid down, the question of abolition in the District of Columbia should be settled. Emancipation at the seat of Government ought to be insisted on, not for the purpose of influencing slavery elsewhere, but because what is done there is done by the whole people, because slavery sustained there is sustained by the free States." — pp. 84, 89, 90, 91, and 94.

The Life and Times of Thomas Cranmer. By the Author of "Three Experiments of Living," "Life and Times of Martin Luther," &c. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1841. 12mo. pp. 277.

WHERE this book is rightly judged, it will be valued. Every book, and every author, have a claim to be judged by their avowed or obvious design. It is the obvious design of this book, as of its predecessor, not to give information to scholars, not to create novelty or peculiar interest for those familiar with all sources of knowledge, nor yet to present a complete history, but to draw the attention of young and casual readers to some of the most important chapters and prominent men of the past, and by throwing around them a pleasant interest to awaken the desire of farther and thorough inquiry. So manifestly is this the design of these unpretending works, and so skilfully are they framed for that purpose, that we should not think of referring to it thus distinctly, but that objections have been made in seeming disregard of it, and a spirit of unreasonable demand. In the introduction to this volume, the author says—"The same hope which animated the author of 'Luther and his Times,' has stimulated to this attempt, that others may be sufficiently interested in these sketches to induce them to study for themselves the histories of the German and the English reformation." A more honorable purpose there could not be. It is a duty which the more privileged owe to the less favored; and a duty which has been neglected. History is not read by common readers as it deserves, or as it would be if thus illustrated and made attractive. We have seen, within a limited range, the good effects. We acknowledge for ourselves and others many obligations to the lady who has given her time and talents to a service apparently so humble. Few are so well qualified for this service.

The present seems to us a more successful effort than the former. Much as we enjoyed even the fictitious portions of Luther's narrative, considering their style and the plain purpose, we own there is a higher enjoyment in seeing the picture of a man or an age, as clear history presents it. So is it here. The author has kept to fact, in giving Cranmer's life and times. How far she has found or always exhibited the exact fact, will of course be a question with some, in regard to particular passages of that eventful period. The character of Cranmer is not an easy one to read, and is not read by all alike. His motives, it must be confessed, are subject to fair questioning. His integrity and nobleness are sometimes left

painfully in doubt. This doubt the author of the present sketch does not wholly remove. Nor does she attempt it. She inclines to the more favorable view; but by no means denies, or in the least palliates, his want of consistency, and occasional weakness of principle or deadness of conscience. There is an evident aim to be impartial, to give the strong and the weak parts. "We have seen Cranmer resolutely opposing the arbitrary will of Henry, in the bill of the six articles, and in the appropriation of the Catholic spoils; and here his cause was a noble one. We have seen him yielding to the persuasions of Counsellors and Doctors, in the case of Lady Jane Gray, when his convictions were wholly against their arguments, and it was weakness to yield. And we have seen him obstinate in condemning the miserable Jane Bocher to the stake, and resisting the mild and humane opposition of Edward, and, as we fully believe, the pleadings of his own heart." That the heart plead for justice and mercy, cannot lessen, but must aggravate his offence, who yet acts in direct violation of mercy and justice. The palliations, which the biographer here finds for this infirmity in Cranmer, are charitable, discriminating, and often strictly just, as it seems to us; but not always. We are not sure that selfishness or the least malignity can be charged upon the Archbishop. But there was unquestionably a *criminal* yielding to the selfishness and malignity of others; and this, we wish, had been more distinctly and emphatically marked. It is, however, but a matter of judgment, in which an extended investigation only can give one a right to confidence; and where there is not full knowledge or clearness, lenity is always nearest the right.

Of this most crowded and momentous era, the present, though a brief, is a comprehensive sketch. Beginning with the accession of Henry the Eighth, it delineates all the features of that bad man, in his six marriages and various policy, until his death, draws the beautiful character but short career of the good Edward, then the struggle that ensued for the crown, and so much of the reign of 'Bloody Mary' as came before the death of Cranmer. That death, so full of instruction, the charges, the trial, the imprisonment, the mournful recantation, the speedy repentance, and glorious end, are all touchingly described. We would give extracts, were there room, but can only offer one from the last scene. He is addressing the people, his judges and enemies, who came to triumph, and to make him repeat his recantation before they led him to the stake.

"He paused. Not a sound could be heard; every eye was fixed upon him, either in hope or exultation. His tears flowed anew."

"And now I come," he continued, "to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did through life. And that is, setting abroad of writings, contrary to the truth; which here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth; which I wrote for fear of death and to save my life, if it might be. And that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And, forasmuch as my hand offended in writing, contrary to my heart, therefore, my hand shall first be punished. For, if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

"We may suppose the astonishment and consternation which prevailed, as soon as their tongues were loosed. They charged him with dissembling. 'Alas, my Lords,' said he, 'I have all my life been a man that loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for.'

"He might have gone on, for he now appeared like a new man; the brightness of his eye returned, the faint color rose to his pale cheek, the tears no longer fell. It seemed as if the load was taken from his heart. The inner man triumphed.

"Again he attempted to speak, but the zealous friars rushed forward and tore him from the stage. As they conducted him to the stake, the populace ran after him, exhorting him, 'while time was, to remember himself.' He walked silently on, and, when he arrived at the stake, his face seemed radiant with faith and hope. There were no symptoms of the irresolution that had marked his character. They saw, that, to urge the recantation again was hopeless, and the friars said in Latin, one to another, 'Let us go from him; we ought not to be near him, for the Devil is with him.'

"He proceeded to divest himself of his outer garments, leaving only his shirt, which was long, reaching to his feet. He then offered his hand to those who stood near. One again cried to him, to agree to his former recantation. 'This,' said Cranmer, 'is the hand that wrote it; and, therefore, it shall first suffer punishment.'

"The faggots were placed around him, and fire set to them. As it crackled and arose, the wind blew it on one side. With a calm, fervent aspect, his face appeared lighted by the flames, as that of Moses is described upon the mount. He stretched forth his hand. 'This is the hand that offended,' said he; and, deliberately placing it in the flames, stood unmoved, uttering no groan, and not discovering by his countenance any sensibility to pain. The flames kindled round him. More than once he was heard to say, 'Lord Jesus, receive my soul!'" — pp. 272 - 274.

The Rhode-Island Book. Selections in Prose and Verse, from the writings of Rhode-Island Citizens. By ANNE C. LYNCH. Providence: H. Fuller, 40 Westminster-Street. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 1841.

THE public are under obligations to the editors of the

Boston and Rhode-Island Books for some very agreeable volumes, and to the inventor, whoever he may be, of this new form of the Annual. The volume before us abounds in good writing, and pleasant reading. It is every way honorable to Rhode-Island. The Poetry, especially, strikes us as of an uncommonly high order. The following ballad, by Mr. Albert G. Greene, which, we remember, first appeared in the Knickerbocker, is enough of itself to confer distinction on the book.

“THE BARON’S LAST BANQUET.”

O’ER a low couch the setting sun had thrown its latest ray,
Where in his last strong agony a dying warrior lay,
The stern old Baron Rudiger, whose frame had ne’er been bent
By wasting pain, till time and toil its iron strength had spent.

‘They come around me here, and say my days of life are o’er,
That I shall mount my noble steed and lead my band no more;
They come, and to my beard they dare to tell me now, that I,
Their own liege lord and master born, — that I, ha! ha! must die.

And what is death? I’ve dared him oft before the Paynim spear, —
Think ye he’s entered at my gate, has come to seek me here?
I’ve met him, faced him, scorned him, when the fight was raging hot, —
I’ll try his might — I’ll brave his power; defy, and fear him not.

Ho! sound the tocsin from my tower, — and fire the culverin, —
Bid each retainer arm with speed, — call every vassal in,
Up with my banner on the wall, — the banquet board prepare, —
Throw wide the portal of my hall, and bring my armor there!’

An hundred hands were busy then, — the banquet forth was spread, —
And rang the heavy oaken floor with many a martial tread,
While from the rich, dark tracery along the vaulted wall,
Lights gleamed on harness, plume, and spear, o’er the proud old Gothic
hall.

Fast hurrying through the outer gate the mailed retainers poured
On through the portal’s frowning arch, and thronged around the board.
While at its head, within his dark, carved oaken chair of state,
Armed cap-a-pie, stern Rudiger, with girded falchion, sate.

‘Fill every beaker up, my men, pour forth the cheering wine,
There’s life and strength in every drop, — thanksgiving to the vine!
Are ye all there, my vassals true? — mine eyes are waxing dim; —
Fill round, my tried and fearless ones, each goblet to the brim.

Ye’re there, but yet I see ye not. Draw forth each trusty sword, —
And let me hear your faithful steel clash once around my board:
I hear it faintly: — Louder yet! — What clogs my heavy breath?
Up all, — and shout for Rudiger, ‘Defiance unto Death!’

Bowl rang to bowl, — steel clanged to steel, — and rose a deafening
cry,

That made the torches flare around, and shook the flags on high: —
'Ho! cravens, do ye fear him? — Slaves, traitors! have ye flown?
Ho! cowards, have ye left me to meet him here alone!

But I defy him: — let him come!' Down rang the massy cup,
While from its sheath the ready blade came flashing half-way up;
And with the black and heavy plumes scarce trembling on his head,
There in his dark, carved, oaken chair, Old Rudiger sat, dead."

— pp. 66 68.

An Abridgment of Leverett's Latin Lexicon, particularly adapted to the Classics usually studied preparatory to a Collegiate Course. BY FRANCIS GARDNER, A. M., Instructor in the Public Latin Schools in Boston. Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter. 1841. pp. 318.

THIS abridgment is intended to serve as a convenient and sufficient introduction to the larger and more copious work from which it is compiled. In literary, as well as in other pursuits, one of the greatest difficulties to be encountered by the beginner is his ignorance of the tools he is to work with. He is obliged to learn the use of his Grammar and Dictionary, which is often no easy labor. The difficulty, too, is not unlikely to be increased by the very perfectness of the elementary helps. The more minute and nice their arrangement may be, the more thought and judgment must they exact of the pupil. In the case of the Grammar the teacher may easily adapt the book to the age and capacity of the pupil by opening to his view at first only the more striking points, and gradually accustoming his mind to the more delicate distinctions and subtle elegancies of diction, as it may be able to apprehend them. But in a Lexicon there is no suppression. The whole or none must be presented to the student. He is in danger of being bewildered in a maze of examples, the proper application of which presupposes in him a considerable degree of familiarity with the language he is studying, and the power of tracing the analogies of thought and speech too often quite beyond his years. This case can be provided for only by an abridgment, in which the pupil may find all the proper and more palpable peculiarities of signification plainly and naturally set before him, while at the same time his mind is insensibly trained by the habitual use of a methodical system, for the right handling of the same in its more complete and minute development. Nor can the pupil be left to make his own abridgment, as

this implies a degree of maturity of knowledge and power of discrimination not common among the mass of young pupils.

It is obviously of great importance, that a harmony and consistency of plan should be observed between the more advanced and the less advanced books which are put into the young student's hands. To the tyro then, who will find the larger Lexicon of Mr. Leverett almost indispensable, to the successful prosecution of his higher labors, no preparatory work can be more profitable than the present abridgment, which leads him to the intelligent use of his future guide.

As the chief ends to be attained in the compilation of a book of this sort are perspicuity and brevity, some alterations have been made in the mode of execution of the work, which, while not incompatible with the original plan, are conducive to the peculiar purpose of this undertaking. Some changes in notation have been adopted, tending to assist the pupil in detecting the more prominent distinctions of signification and in choosing the meaning best suited to his case. As this work, too, is designed mainly for the use of our schools and academies, it has been thought expedient to omit such words, as are not found in the elementary books usually read in such institutions. Where, however, a word has been admitted, care, we perceive, has been taken to give a full exhibition of its signification and use, without exclusive regard to particular authors or writings, that the pupil might be supplied with every needful assistance. Besides these alterations, the compiler has also, especially in the earlier portion of the work, availed himself of such recent publications in this department, as have come to his knowledge, and has thus been enabled to arrange some articles more systematically and to exhibit the various uses of some words more fully, yet in every instance, so as more entirely to carry out the plan of the original, without introducing discrepancy into any part.

Among the chief merits of the larger Lexicon were the careful marking of the quantity of syllables, and the exhibition of the roots from which each word is derived. Both these points have received equal attention in the present compilation, and the latter in particular has been subjected to a searching and thorough revision.

The English Latin division of the original work has been transferred unaltered and entire to the abridgment.

Sermons on Practical Subjects, by the late LANT CARPENTER, LL. D., one of the Pastors of the Lewin's Mead Congregation, Bristol, and formerly of George's Meeting, Exeter. Bristol and London. 1840. 8vo. pp. 502.

IN this large and eminently beautiful volume we are presented with thirty-four sermons, by the late Dr. Carpenter — a name so long and honorably known among the Unitarians of America. Especially valuable to those who heard them, and to whom they will serve as a grateful memorial of their lamented author, they are a useful present to the religious world. We find on every page the wisdom, the calm good sense, the fairness and honesty of mind, the tone of humble earnest piety, for which we should look in anything from the pen of Dr. Carpenter. There is nothing here to astonish, excite, or dazzle; but much to elevate, to satisfy, and lead to serious reflection, self-examinations, and spiritual improvement.

It is not, however, on this volume of posthumous discourses that the fame of Dr. Carpenter will rest, but on his Apostolical Harmony of the Gospels — a work which will connect his name permanently, and in the most honorable manner, with the determination of some of the most intricate and interesting questions in sacred criticism. We merely express a confident opinion, we are aware, when we say, that we make as little question of the ultimate general prevalence of the hypothesis of a single year as the duration of Christ's ministry, and mainly on the arrangement of Dr. Carpenter, as that any hypothesis whatever will be maintained. The intrinsic improbability of the commonly received theory of a three years' term is hardly less than that of the twenty years' term of Irenæus.

We are glad to learn, that a large supply of the English Edition of this volume of sermons may be found at the store of our publishers. The last Edition of the Harmony may also be had of them.

Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit. BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Edited from the Author's MS. By HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, Esq., M. A. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1841.

THE opinion of Mr. Coleridge on the subject of this little book will best be seen by exhibiting them in his own language in a few brief extracts. He rejects in emphatic terms the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures.

"But the doctrine in question," he says — that of plenary inspiration — "requires me to believe, that not only what finds me, but that all that exists in the sacred volume, and which I am bound to find therein, was — not alone inspired by, that is, composed by men under the actuating influence of, the Holy Spirit, but likewise — dictated by an Infallible Intelligence; — that the writers, each and all, were divinely informed as well as inspired. Now here all evasion, all excuse, is cut off." — pp. 29, 30.

Mr. Coleridge finds no claim set up to such inspiration by the sacred writers.

"I believe the writer in whatever he himself relates of his own authority, and of its origin. But I cannot find any such claim, as the Doctrine in question supposes, made by these writers, explicitly or by implication. On the contrary, they refer to other documents, and in all points express themselves as sober-minded and veracious writers under ordinary circumstances are known to do. But, perhaps, they bear testimony, the successor to his predecessor? — Or some one of the number has left it on record, that by especial inspiration *he* was commanded to declare the plenary inspiration of all the rest? — The passages, which can without violence be appealed to as substantiating the latter position, are so few, and these so incidental, — the conclusion drawn from them involving likewise so obviously a *petitio principii*, namely, the supernatural dictation, word by word, of the book in which the question is found; (for until this is established, the utmost that such a text can prove, is the current belief of the writer's age and country concerning the character of the books, then called The Scripture;) — that it cannot but seem strange, and assuredly is against all analogy of Gospel Revelation, that such a Doctrine — which, if true must be an article of faith, and a most important, yea, essential article of faith, — should be left thus faintly, thus obscurely, and, if I may so say, *obitaneously*, declared and enjoined." — pp. 33, 34.

He thus exposes the absurdity of the doctrine.

"Yet one other instance, and let this be the crucial test of the Doctrine. Say that the Book of Job throughout was dictated by an infallible Intelligence. Then re-peruse the book, and still, as you proceed, try to apply the tenet: try if you can even attach any sense or semblance of meaning to the speeches which you are reading. What! were the hollow truisms, the unsufficing half-truths, the false assumptions and malignant insinuations of the supercilious bigots, who corruptly defended the truth: — were the impressive facts, the piercing outcries, the pathetic appeals, and the close and powerful reasoning with which the poor sufferer — smarting at once from his wounds, and from the oil of vitriol which the orthodox *liars for God* were dropping into them — impatiently, but uprightly and holily, controverted this truth, while in will and in spirit he clung to it; — were both dictated by an infallible Intelligence? — Alas! if I may judge from the manner in which both indiscriminately are recited, quoted, appealed to, preached upon, by the *routiniers* of desk and pulpit, I cannot doubt that they think so, — or rather, without thinking, take for granted that

so they are to think;—the more readily, perhaps, because the so thinking supersedes the necessity of all afterthought.”—pp. 56, 57.

And again.

“To assert and to demand miracles without necessity was the vice of the unbelieving Jews of old; and from the Rabbis and Talmudists the infection has spread. And would I could say that the symptoms of the disease are confined to the Churches of the Apostasy! But all the miracles, which the legends of Monk or Rabbi contain, can scarcely be put in competition, on the score of complication, inexplicableness, the absence of all intelligible use or purpose, and of circuitous self-frustration, with those that must be assumed by the maintainers of this doctrine, in order to give effect to the series of miracles, by which all the nominal composers of the Hebrew nation before the time of Ezra, of whom there are any remains, were successively transformed into *automaton* compositors,—so that the original text should be in sentiment, image, word, syntax, and composition an exact impression of the divine copy!”—pp. 103, 104.

The doctrine Mr. Coleridge would substitute may be seen as completely, perhaps, as it could with the quoting the whole book, in the following passages.

“I freely confess that my whole heart would turn away with an angry impatience from the cold and captious mortal, who, the moment I had been pouring out the love and gladness of my soul—while book after book, Law, and Truth, and Example, Oracle and lovely Hymn, and choral Song of ten thousand thousands, and accepted Prayers of Saints and Prophets, sent back as it were, from Heaven, like doves, to be let loose again with a new freight of spiritual joys and griefs and necessities, were passing across my memory,—at the first pause of my voice, and whilst my countenance was still speaking—should ask me, whether I was thinking of the Book of Esther, or meant particularly to include the first six chapters of Daniel, or verses 6–20 of the 109th Psalm, or the last verse of the 137th Psalm! Would any conclusion of this sort be drawn in any other analogous case? In the course of my Lectures on Dramatic Poetry I in half a score instances referred my auditors to the precious volume before me—Shakspeare—and spoke enthusiastically, both in general and with detail of particular beauties, of the plays of Shakspeare as all in their kinds, and in relation to the purposes of the writer, excellent. Would it have been fair, or according to the common usage and understanding of men, to have inferred an intention on my part to decide the question respecting Titus Andronicus, or the larger portion of the three parts of Henry VI.? Would not every genial mind understand by Shakspeare that unity or total impression, comprising, and resulting from, the thousandfold several and particular emotions of delight, admiration, gratitude excited by his works? But if it be answered,—‘Aye! but we must not interpret St. Paul as we may and should interpret any other honest and intelligent writer or speaker,’—then, I say, this is the very *petitio principii* of which I complain.” * * * “We assuredly believe that the Bible contains all truths necessary to sal-

vation, and that therein is preserved the undoubted Word of God. We assert likewise that, besides these express oracles and immediate revelations, there are Scriptures which to the soul and conscience of every Christian man bear irresistible evidence of the Divine Spirit assisting and actuating the authors; and that both these and the former are such as to render it morally impossible that any passage of the small inconsiderable portion, not included in one or other of these, can supply either ground or occasion of any error in faith, practice, or affection, except to those who wickedly and wilfully seek a pretext for their unbelief. And if in that small portion of the Bible which stands in no necessary connexion with the known and especial ends and purposes of the Scriptures, there should be a few apparent errors resulting from the state of knowledge then existing—errors which the best and holiest men might entertain uninjured, and which without a miracle those men must have entertained; if I find no such miraculous prevention asserted, and see no reason for supposing it—may I not, to ease the scruples of a perplexed inquirer, venture to say to him: ‘Be it so. What then? The absolute infallibility even of the inspired writers in matters altogether incidental and foreign to the objects and purposes of their inspiration is no part of my Creed; and even if a professed divine should follow the doctrine of the Jewish Church so far as not to attribute to the *Hagiographi*, in every word and sentence, the same height and fulness of inspiration as to the Law and the Prophets, I feel no warrant to brand him as a heretic for an opinion, the admission of which disarms the Infidel without endangering a single article of the Catholic Faith.’—If to an unlearned but earnest and thoughtful neighbor, I give the advice;—‘Use the Old Testament to express the affections excited, and to confirm the faith and morals taught you, in the New, and leave all the rest to the students and professors of theology and Church history! You profess only to be a Christian:’—am I misleading my brother in Christ?

This I believe by my own dear experience,—that the more tranquilly an inquirer takes up the Bible as he would any other body of ancient writings, the livelier and steadier will be his impressions of its superiority to all other books, till at length all other books and all other knowledge will be valuable in his eyes in proportion as they help him to a better understanding of his Bible. Difficulty after difficulty has been overcome from the time that I began to study the Scriptures with free and unboding spirit, under the conviction that my faith in the Incarnate Word and his Gospel was secure, whatever the result might be;—the difficulties that still remain being so few and insignificant in my own estimation, that I have less personal interest in the question than many of those who will most dogmatically condemn me for presuming to make a question of it.”—pp. 43–45, 113–116.

He sums up in the following eminently lucid and characteristic manner.

“I comprise and conclude the sum of my conviction in this one sentence. Revealed Religion (and I know of no religion not revealed) is in its highest contemplation the unity, that is, the identity or co-

inherence, of Subjective and Objective. It is in itself, and irrelatively, at once inward Life and Truth, and outward Fact and Luminary. But as all Power manifests itself in the harmony of correspondent Opposites, each supposing and supporting the other, — so has Religion its objective, or historic and ecclesiastical pole, and its subjective, or spiritual and individual pole. In the miracles, and miraculous parts of religion — both in the first communication of divine truths, and in the promulgation of the truths thus communicated — we have the union of the two, that is, the subjective and supernatural displayed objectively — outwardly and phenomenally — *as* subjective and supernatural." — pp. 124, 125.

This little book, as will be seen from the last quotation, is by no means free from the faults of Coleridge, his lumbering wordiness, his affectedly involuted sentences and paragraphs, his grotesque pedantry, his sham profundity — faults which expose him beyond all others of our present time, with possibly one exception, to the charge of literary mountebankism. In further illustration and proof, take the following from the twelfth page of the introduction — extracted, if we rightly remember from one of the papers of the *Friend*. We do not give it in the form in which it stands in the work — that in which epitaphs and dedications usually are printed — but it will make no sort of difference with the reader. It is the advantage of this kind of writing — it can at least boast so much — that it is not material how it is printed or read, whether backwards, forwards, or in any other manner.

"The Pentad of Operative Christianity. *Prothesis* Christ, the Word. *Mesothesis*, or the *Thesis Antithesis* Indifference, The Scriptures. The Holy Spirit. The Church. *Synthesis* The Preacher. The Scriptures, the Spirit, and the Church, are coördinate; the indispensable conditions and the working causes of the perpetuity, and continued renascence and spiritual life of Christ still militant. The Eternal Word, Christ from everlasting, is the *Prothesis*, or identity; — the Scriptures and the Church are the two poles, or *Thesis* and *Antithesis*; and the Preacher in direct line under the Spirit, but likewise the point of junction of the Written Word and the Church, is the *Synthesis*. This is God's Hand in the World."

Reminiscences of the best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death. From the German of Jean Paul Richter. Boston: J. Dowe. 1840. 24mo. pp. 52.

BEAUTIFUL and true; almost natural, and quite intelligible, although from the German.

Sermons to Children. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel, Boston. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1841.

WE are delighted to meet with a volume for children in some other form than a story. We believe these sermons will be read with as much interest as any of the little novels with which the press teems, and with more profit. We offer from this volume two extracts, which will go farther than any words of our own we could use to commend them to both parents and children. They are from the second sermon; "God created you to be good and happy."

"It needs care to be good, I know; and sometimes it appears to be easier for children, and grown people too, to do wrong than to do right, notwithstanding they would be happy in doing right, and unhappy in doing wrong. But this does not prove that you are not made just as you ought to be, and made to be good and happy. I will call your attention once more to the comparison of the organ. Suppose that a person should go up to it, and, without any skill or attention, strike about on the keys, wherever his hands might happen to fall. Instead of making music, he would make most terrible discord; yet it would not be fair to say, that the organ was built to make discord, would it? Surely not. It was built to make music, because, when it is played upon properly, it does make music. It is an instrument of music, and not an instrument of discord, even though it may be easier to make discord on it than to make music. Music is pleasant; discord is not pleasant, but painful. We must believe that all the time and skill and expense, which were devoted to the building of the organ, were devoted to bring forth what should be pleasant, and not what should be painful. The organ may produce discord, and will produce discord, if its keys are struck ignorantly and improperly. But not so, if they are touched with knowledge and care. Let the very person who made such discord with its tones, take lessons in music, and pay attention to them, and strive to improve himself by practice, and then he will play on it better and better, committing mistakes, most probably, as he goes on, but still playing better and better, every day, till he draws forth music from it which charms himself, and every one else.

It is very much the same with yourselves. You were made for goodness, virtue, holiness, which may be called spiritual music, or the music of the soul. Love, hope, fear, joy, grief, are the musical notes within you. If your will is suffered to strike those notes, in a violent and careless, and uninstructed manner, discord and sin will very likely be the consequence. But, if you are rightly instructed in your duty, and you pay continual attention to the lessons which you receive—for if you do not pay this attention yourselves, the lessons will be of little service to you—then your affections will be made to harmonize together more and more, and it will be easy and delightful to you to produce spiritual music, that is, to be good, and this music will be

very sweet to the ears of your friends, and of listening angels, and of God who made you, and made you to be good and happy.

"You have a great many teachers, to instruct you in spiritual music. Some of them are visible; such as your parents, and your minister, and your schools, and your books; and some of them are invisible, such as experience, and habit, and conscience. But let your teachers be ever so many, and ever so well qualified, if you do not attend to their instructions, and do not try to profit by them, you will never be accomplished in that goodness which I call spiritual harmony, but you will go on making discord through the whole of your lives. And what sad lives, such lives of discord will be!" — pp. 14-16.

"To be just to all persons, commonly means, to deal with them and behave towards them, in precisely such a way as they have a right to mark out; to give them everything which is their due, and keep from them nothing which is theirs. To be kind to all persons, is, to be ready to oblige all persons as far as you can; and to forgive those who have injured you; and to feel a sincere desire for the happiness of all persons. Justice and kindness ought always to go together; for justice is but a rough virtue without kindness, and kindness is but a weak virtue without justice; and people will despise one who is not just, and dislike one who is not kind. You cannot be completely and consistently kind, unless you are just; and you cannot be largely and nobly just, unless you are kind. Imagine yourselves going along in a road, with justice and kindness for your constant travelling companions and guides. Justice always speaks to you plainly, and prevents your injuring any body or anything that you meet in the way, and sees that you pay exactly all the expenses of your journey; and kindness softly asks you to pardon those who may injure you, and now and then urges you, with a tender smile on her face, to step a little out of your way to help those who may need your assistance. And justice never frowns on kindness; and kindness never interferes with justice. I think that if you observe what justice and kindness both say to you in the journey of life, other people will be glad to walk with you, and be sorry to part with you; and that when you get to the end, you will look back on your course with satisfaction and joy." — pp. 19-21.

Who shall be greatest? A Tale by MARY HOWITT. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1841.

A STORY of the vulgarest life imaginable, like unto which we have none on this side of the water. One feels after reading it, as if he had been dragged through some of the foulest of Dante's circles, where, in rivers of stercoraceous filth were plunged and punished the envious, the jealous, the avaricious, and the violent. There is not a pleasant gleam of light falling from a single virtue, generous sentiment, or elevated character, throughout the volume. To the American reader who sees, knows, and feels so much less than the Englishman of

this vulgar aping of those whom he may think to be richer or better born than himself, this story is as violently contradictory of the truth of actual life, as any of the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe. The title of the book leads one naturally to expect a tale of a very different kind, and the disappointment is complete.

Agricultural Addresses delivered at New Haven, Norwich, and Hartford, Connecticut, at the County Cattle Shows, in the year 1840. By HENRY COLMAN, Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of Massachusetts. Published by the request of the Three Societies. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, Printers. 1840. pp. 72.

THE industry and ardor, with which Mr. Colman has fulfilled the duties of his office, entitle him to the thanks of all who are capable of appreciating the importance of the productive labor of the Commonwealth. Commencing his work without definite instructions concerning the course to be pursued, the fulfilment of his important commission could not fail to be attended with great embarrassment. It must have seemed like a work without beginning, middle, or end. But his successive Reports show, that, however undefined the plan of operations was, in the origin of the Commission, there was wisdom in its general design. The stimulus applied was wanted. People were growing mad with all sorts of projects for becoming rich, and neglecting that, without which they must all be poor indeed. They were thinking to fare sumptuously every day, and forgetting that if the earth were left to its spontaneous production, they must inevitably perish by famine.

Many tillers of the earth have no doubt been benefited by the personal efforts of the Commissioner. The discontent of some has been allayed; others have been roused from torpor to activity; and multitudes have been led to perceive how their starving fields, which, void of sufficient sustenance, yielded such slender harvests, may be rendered at once more profitable and more productive.

We greet the Commissioner with peculiar gratitude, not only for the sound instructions and wholesome admonitions contained in the "Agricultural Addresses," relating to the cultivation of the ground, but for the grave lessons and winning exhortations, relating to the culture of the whole man. In close alliance with the information and counsels imparted for the attainment of an improved agriculture, we find an intellectual, moral, and religious spirit combined, which gives a

crowning excellence to the whole. These eloquent appeals to the public increase our regret that his commission is so near its close ;

“Which, if he lose, he makes a swan-like end.”

The first of these “Addresses” contains a hearty and well deserved eulogy on agriculture, as a means of subsistence, bearing a favorable comparison with any other occupation, and as a source of pure moral influences inferior to none. And no where does he think that these advantages of agriculture are better combined than in New England. Even as a source of profit, New England products, compared with those of the West, are not inferior, in the estimation of Mr. Colman ; so far from it, they often exceed them in value. In his third Address he says that “millions and millions of acres of land in New England are now uncleared or comparatively waste, and may be purchased at from ten to thirty dollars an acre, which would yield to the judicious and enterprising farmer a return vastly beyond anything to be obtained from the fertile lands in the far West, which are to be had at the government price. This point admits of demonstration.” We need hardly add, that besides the amount of production, must be taken into consideration the comparative rent or interest on the price of the land, the cost of cultivation, and the worth of what is produced. Mr. Colman speaks from what he has seen, and from personal knowledge ; and if any allowance must be made for his local partialities, it cannot be such as to leave any apology for discontent among the farmers of New England.

In the latter part of the first Address, Mr. Colman speaks of the improvements that have been made in agriculture, horticulture, and “floriculture,” and with more immediate reference to the last, concludes with the following beautiful and cheering reflections.

“The direct tendency of all such embellishments in our grounds and habitations is to multiply the attractions of home, and to strengthen the domestic ties. It is the glory of New England, that these precious ties are nowhere stronger or more sacred. I would bind her children, if possible, by chains a thousand times more enduring. In all my journeyings into other lands, favored as they may be by the highest advantages of climate and soil, I come back to New England with all the enthusiasm of a first love, and a filial affection which, if possible, has only gained new strength from absence. Indeed, there is everything in her to love and honor. Let us seek to render every spot of her rude territory beautiful. To the eminent picturesqueness of her natural scenery, adding the triumphs of an industrious, and skilful, and tasteful cultivation, every substantial want of our nature will be supplied, every refined sentiment of the mind gratified ; and

the true New England heart will ask no other Eden this side of that better country, where flowers bloom with a radiance which never fades, and "one unbounded and eternal spring encircles all." — p. 24.

The subject of the second "Address" is "the Agriculture of New England." Mr. Colman speaks of the variety of its soil, adapted to like varieties of production, and shows to what great extent the crops may be increased beyond the present average amount. The climate, with all its disadvantages, is justly represented as favorable to labor; the condition and circumstances of the inhabitants recommend agricultural industry; its profits remunerate it; and, "with good husbandry, we may raise, with a fair profit, of whatever the climate will produce, everything which we need to eat, drink, or wear."

The third Address comprises remarks on the present state of agriculture among us; the improvements practicable and desirable; and the means likely to effect them:

It being the object of these "Addresses" not merely to show what industry and physical strength can do for the improvement of agriculture, but to give it a just rank as an art and science, and to confer on it a still higher elevation by showing its legitimate tendencies to promote social, intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we have thought it incumbent upon us to welcome them with this cursory notice.

There is one thing in the present condition of the agricultural interest of New England, which appears to us to favor all the noble views of Mr. Colman; namely, the general tendency to division, instead of accumulation of landed estates. Greater industry, better cultivation, and increasing improvement in the social state, appear to us to be the natural results; to say nothing of the political importance gained by increase of population, wealth, and intelligence. If two acres of ground were a fair allotment for a *Roman*, under the government of the kings, and seven acres in the better days of the republic, is not a quantity of land varying from fifteen to one hundred acres, according to locality and variety of soil, enough for a *Yankee*? While the Romans were thus restricted, and each cultivated his own land, a *good husbandman* was an honorable appellation, and names of noble families were sometimes derived from successful culture of favorite species of vegetables. Then there existed a hardy race and abundant harvests; but in the corrupt period of the republic, and especially of the empire, when overgrown estates were amassed by rich proprietors, and cultivated by servile labor, men became pigmies, and provisions became scanty; and it was necessary, in times of danger, to resort to the provinces, both for men and provisions to con-

stitute and feed an army. That the tendency of the landed interest in New England is directly the reverse of this, affords pleasing hope and promise of the growing improvement of this ancient portion of the great republic, and must contribute much to increase its well deserved influence in promoting the true glory of the nation. For industry, intelligence, and virtue, pervading a large mass of the community, constitute a moral power, which cannot be lost, even when least perceived, and which in times of emergency, cannot be overlooked or unfelt.

A Year's Life. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Boston :
C. C. Little and J. Brown. 1841.

THE name of Lowell has long been associated in our community with the most pleasing recollections of public usefulness and private worth. A large and growing city in our vicinity commemorates the practical wisdom of one of the members of this family ; while an Institute designed for the improvement of all classes of society in our own city bears witness to the munificence of another. Many have been distinguished as patrons of our highest literary institutions ; to some we have been accustomed to look for guidance in political conduct, or in matters of religious faith. And now a new scion of so noble a stock has budded and blossomed. A new laurel is gained by a family, whom the public has always delighted to honor. And henceforth, when its deserts are made the theme of praise, not only shall contributions to our commercial prosperity and social improvement be mentioned, but this little volume shall come up for remembrance, as a welcome addition to the infant literature of our country.

But the poems under review, need not to be bolstered up by any family reputation. We welcome them as true utterances of a poetic spirit. The pieces contained in this volume will be read, not so much because fashion or favorable criticism points them out as necessary to be read, as because men will recognise in them an insight which commends them to the reason, and a love and admiration of beauty which reach the heart.

Love seems to have been the chief source of Mr. Lowell's inspiration. Of some of the poems written under its dictation, we may be permitted to say, that "our whim they please not." But others win us at once, and gain upon us at every reading. There is manifested in all a freedom from selfishness and repining, which must strike a reader of Byron, for instance, with something like surprise. Equally distant are they from the

cold and accurate appreciation of beauty, which marks some of the portraits of Alfred Tennyson. The last lines of "Ianthe" will illustrate our meaning better than anything we can write, and we quote it entire.

"Early and late, at her soul's gate,
Sits Chastity in warderwise,
No thought unchallenged, small or great,
Goes thence into her eyes;
Nor may a low, unworthy thought
Beyond that virgin warder win,
Nor one, whose password is not "ought,"
May go without or enter in.
I call her, seeing those pure eyes,
The Eve of a new Paradise,
Which she by gentle word and deed,
And look no less, doth still create
About her, for her great thoughts breed
A calm that lifts us from our fallen state,
And makes us while with her both good and great, —
Nor is their memory wanting in our need:
With stronger loving, every hour,
Turneth my heart to this frail flower,
Which, thoughtless of the world, hath grown
To beauty and meek gentleness,
Here in a fair world of its own, —
By woman's instinct trained alone, —
A lily fair which God did bless,
And which from Nature's heart did draw
Love, wisdom, peace, and Heaven's perfect law." — pp. 74, 75.

We may be permitted in this connexion to cite the closing lines of "Irene." The calm wisdom embodied in them can never be more needed than now, when women are as mad with projects of reform, as their *quondam* lords and masters.

"Yet sets she not her soul so steadily
Above, that she forgets her ties to earth,
But her whole thought would almost seem to be
How to make glad one lowly human hearth;
For with a gentle courage she doth strive
In thought and word and feeling so to live
As to make earth next Heaven; and her heart
Herein doth show its most exceeding worth,
That, bearing in our frailty her just part,
She hath not shrunk from evils of this life,
But hath gone calmly forth into the strife,
And all its sins and sorrows hath withstood
With lofty strength of patient womanhood:
For this I love her great soul more than all,
That, being bound, like us, with earthly thrall,
She walks so bright and Heaven-wise therein, —
Too wise, too meek, too womanly to sin.

"Exceeding pleasant to mine eyes is she :
 Like a lone star through riven storm-clouds seen
 By sailors, tempest-tost upon the sea,
 Telling of rest and peaceful heavens nigh,
 Unto my soul her star-like soul hath been,
 Her sight as full of hope and calm to me ; —
 For she unto herself hath builded high
 A home serene, wherein to lay her head,
 Earth's noblest thing, — a Woman perfected." — pp. 116, 117.

We have fallen somewhat in love with "The Unlovely;" and at first had the usual difficulty in accounting for it. Not even poetical license can suppose an ill-favored damsel to sit down and deal forth such utterances *in propria personâ*. But there is, we suspect, in those dim recesses of the mind, into which the light of consciousness seldom pierces, a sentiment, perhaps rarely shaped into a thought, much less clothed in language, which, however belied by words or actions, is never at fault on this point. And to the poet's mastery of this chord in the breast of the supposed Unlovely, may his success be attributed. We quote the first two stanzas.

"The pretty things that others wear
 Look strange and out of place on me,
 I never seem dressed tastefully,
 Because I am not fair ;
 And, when I would most pleasing seem,
 And deck myself with joyful care,
 I find it is an idle dream,
 Because I am not fair.

"If I put roses in my hair,
 They bloom as if in mockery ;
 Nature denies her sympathy,
 Because I am not fair ;
 Alas ! I have a warm, true heart,
 But when I show it people stare ;
 I must forever dwell apart,
 Because I am not fair." — pp. 124, 125.

But not alone to strains of love does our author attune his lyre. In some of his sonnets the sentiment of friendship is portrayed with a simplicity and earnestness worthy of those old Grecian times which witnessed its birth in the human mind. How full of faith is the Sonnet which follows.

"Great human nature, whither art thou fled ?
 Are these things creeping forth and back agen,
 These hollow formalists and echoes, men ?
 Art thou entombèd with the mighty dead ?
 In God's name, no ! not yet hath all been said,

Or done, or longed for, that is truly great ;
 These pitiful, dried crusts will never sate
 Natures for which pure Truth is daily bread ;
 We were not meant to plod along the earth,
 Strange to ourselves and to our fellows strange ;
 We were not meant to struggle from our birth
 To skulk and creep, and in mean pathways range ;
 Act! with stern truth, large faith, and loving will!
 Up and be doing! God is with us still." — p. 146.

This volume furnishes few pieces that can lay claim to the character of humorous poetry. But the sweet lines on "The Bobolink," beginning "Anacreon of the meadow," the verses to "E. W. G.," and the second of the "Sonnets on Names," show a sensibility to humor, which we are sorry to see overlaid, or thrust into the background, in nearly all the other pieces.

We have spoken perhaps too favorably of Mr. Lowell's poems. But if this be the case, the mistake has arisen from the perpetual surprises we have felt, whilst preparing this notice. We have had little heart to look for faults and blunders, since one or two experiments in that line have resulted in the discovery of fresh beauties. And so, where we have spied no meaning, have come to the conclusion, that it is safest and wisest to "deem there is meaning wanting in our eye." Nor shall we be at all surprised, if upon a reperusal we should find, that we had passed over without special notice the most significant poems or passages, and quoted those which are comparatively common-place.

Religion and Education in America; with Notices of the State and Prospects of American Unitarianism, Popery, and American Colonization. By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D. D. &c. &c. London: Thomas Ward and Co. 1840. 12mo. pp. 474.

WE have no more to do with this volume of Mr. Lang, than to expose his false renderings in the chapter relating to American Unitarianism. As we could place no confidence in the reports of a man who was capable of writing that chapter, we should no more think of reading any other part of his volume, with the idea of trusting a single position advanced by him, unless corroborated by some collateral testimony, than we should of believing a witness on the stand, whom in a single instance we had found to pervert, or violate the truth. We do not say that Mr. Lang has uttered what is false, knowing it at the time to be so. But there is little difference in a moral point of view,

as it seems to us, between giving circulation to a known falsehood, and giving circulation to an injurious report, without taking the pains to ascertain, by inquiry at the proper sources of information, its foundation in fact. He has manifestly written upon the principle that, provided he can bring odium upon what he deems heresy, upon individuals, sects, or opinions he hates, no matter for the means used ; a pious fraud will serve God in such case as well as the truth. But we turn to the book.

After speaking of the first preaching of Dr. Priestley in Philadelphia, and the introduction of Unitarianism into Harvard College, he writes thus.

"The first appointment in the University of Harvard, that aroused the attention of the Christian public in New England, was that of the Rev. Dr. Ware to the Professorship of Divinity, in the year 1804. On that occasion, the late Rev. Jedediah Morse, a distinguished New England Clergyman of his day, and the author of several literary works of merit, broadly accused Dr. Ware of holding heretical opinions in relation to the person and office of Christ, and accordingly reprobated his appointment in the strongest terms. This charge was indignantly repelled by the Unitarians of the day, as a slanderous and most unfounded imputation ; the orthodox trinitarian standards, which Dr. Ware and all the rest of them had signed, were triumphantly appealed to as a convincing proof of their soundness in the faith, — for it is a grand absurdity to suppose that the mere orthodoxy of its standards can preserve a church from heresy, — and the hue and cry of bigotry, fanaticism, and persecution was raised against Dr. Morse, and proved successful for the time in putting him down.

"It will, doubtless, be alleged, that it is a serious charge to prefer against Dr. Ware and his coadjutors, that they had been guilty of subscribing articles of faith, which they did not believe. But, as the modern Unitarians of the United States claim Dr. Ware, and his brethren, and various others, who had gone before them in Harvard University, as the apostles and patriarchs of Unitarianism in America, I merely receive the fact on their authority ; believing they are perfectly right in the catalogue they give of their worthies, and leaving it with themselves to reconcile this fact as they best can with the solemn professions and reiterated subscriptions of Dr. Ware and his brethren." — p. 369.

The reader in this part of the country, familiar with the history of Unitarianism and the characters of the persons alluded to, needs not be told, that the statements of these paragraphs in relation to subscription on the part of Dr. Ware and "his brethren," are false. This reverend calumniator has been indebted for them to his own invention, or to the representations of persons on this side of the water, who were willing to make him the vehicle of their slanders. No sub-

scriptions to creeds of any kind are made by Unitarians. The Bible is the only creed to which they give their faith, or set their names; and this Mr. Lang would have known, if he had had any knowledge in the premises, except what he picked up by the way-side from persons as ignorant, or on such a subject as willing to be wrong as himself. *Let Mr. Lang, therefore, be told that the assertion, that Dr. Ware ever, in one instance, or many, subscribed to a Trinitarian creed, is false.* Whether the untruth which he has uttered and published was known to be such when he wrote it down, we know not, but we do know that the means of information, when he was in Boston, were so close at hand,—any one of the Orthodox clergy of the city could have undeceived him—that it is not easy to perceive how he can escape from the imputation of bearing false witness against his neighbor. When Mr. Lang makes the additional assertion that “all the rest of them,” meaning, as well as we can gather from the loose writing of this reckless individual, the whole body of Unitarians have been guilty of subscribing to Orthodox standards, the allegation is so much more absurd and silly than it is wicked, that we are left to suppose, that in this instance his understanding was imposed upon.

So far as Mr. Lang refers, in the language he has used and which we have quoted above, to the matter of the Hollis professorship, all we have to say is this, that the answer to the charges on that ground has been too many times given, and to the satisfaction of every honest mind, to be here repeated. In the present number of our Journal the reader will find in a preceding article the results to which President Quincy has arrived after a thorough investigation of the whole subject. He who can read that investigation, and leave it with the belief, that Hollis ever intended to fetter his Chair by Trinitarian creeds, must be one whose eyes are darkened to blindness by religious prejudice.

Touching the time-honored accusation of “concealment,” and “not speaking out,” no more need be said than to refer to the undoubted number who heard Christ preach but did not *speak out* till after his resurrection; to the thousands who in the Catholic Church were good Protestants long before Luther, but who did not *speak out* till the day and the hour had come; and to the thousands now in the English Church, and the Presbyterian Church, who have no more proper faith in the Trinity or Calvinism than they have in Buddhism, and who one day *will speak out* to the dismay of the ranks of Orthodoxy. Let the English Liturgy by a Royal Ordinance be made Unitarian to-

morrow, and more than half the bishops and clergy would keep their places, and the people their pews. There never was a structure, grand and imposing to the eye, that stood on so rotten a foundation as what goes by the name of Orthodoxy. Pillar after pillar has fallen, is falling, or is decayed and ready to fall. Every sect in that great body has its new school, or in other words its Unitarian Leaven — the spirit of free inquiry — the resolve to know in what they believe, and to cast off the trammels of system and tradition.

We have no room to discuss the operation of the Law of 1811. All we can do is to notice the general statement of Mr. Lang at the conclusion of his remarks on it. "Since this period, [the repeal of the law,] Unitarianism has rapidly declined in the United States." And again; "In short, since the mask was first torn off the visage of the Unitarians of New England, by the Rev. Dr. Worcester in 1815, and especially since the abolition of the general assessment for the support of religion in 1830, Unitarianism has been rapidly going down in the United States." It seems a pity to disturb so pleasing an illusion as Mr. Lang has permitted to take possession of his mind, but we are obliged to inform him that it is just during the very period of which he speaks, that Unitarianism has with long strides been planting itself in every part of the Union. Before he trusted so credulously the information of persons whom he knew to be very bitter against us, he should have opened his generous mind to light from other quarters. We commend to the traveller the following testimony from the report of the American Unitarian Association for the last year. "When the Association was established, fifteen years ago, 1826, the number of our societies in Massachusetts was about one hundred. It is now one hundred and fifty. At that time we had six societies in Maine. We have now fifteen. We had then the same number in New Hampshire, and now we have nineteen. We had then only eight societies out of New England. We have now thirty-six. At that time there was but one Unitarian society West of the Alleghany mountains — a small society at Pittsburgh — and there are now seventeen; besides a large number in an incipient state. In 1825 the whole number of our societies was one hundred and twenty. It is now two hundred and thirty. The multiplication of societies is not always a just criterion of the growth of a denomination. It is evident however, that we have been increasing from year to year; not so rapidly, perhaps, as some other denominations, and nothing like as rapidly as we might have increased had we been true to our opinions, and possessed

more of the missionary spirit, a spirit of Christian sympathy towards those of our faith in other parts of the country, many of whom, because *we* did not take care of them, have associated themselves with other denominations.

"But the extent to which our views prevail in the United States should not be estimated by the number of *Congregational* Unitarians; for there are many in other denominations, who entertain these views; and particularly in the Christian denomination. It is stated on good authority that in 1833, there were among the Christians, in twenty States, 700 ministers, 1000 churches, from 75,000 to 100,000 communicants, and from 250,000 to 300,000 attending public worship. When, therefore, we consider the increase of this denomination since that time, and the number in other denominations who hold to the simple unity of God, and other views which are peculiar to us, it will appear that the doctrines of liberal Christianity are more prevalent in this country than has been supposed."

These asseverations, we inform Mr. Lang, come before the public under the sanction of the names of men, laymen as well as clergymen, who are in quite good repute in this country, and whose word is taken without hesitation in all the affairs of common life. When his travels come to another edition we hope he will do us the favor to insert in its proper place the above extract.

In relation to the Theological School at Cambridge we find the following anecdote.

"The atheistical tendency of the speculations of the Unitarian liberals is well known, and was recently the subject of a peculiarly severe but somewhat humorous sarcasm. The students of law in Harvard University are in the habit of getting up mock representations of a court of justice, for the purpose of exercising themselves in the duties of their future profession. On one of these occasions one of the students was deputed to go over to the Unitarian Theological School, which is hard by, to request as many of the students of divinity as were required for the purpose, to attend the representation, for the purpose of forming a jury. Having performed his task, the student returned to the court and informed the presiding judge that he was sorry a jury could not be constituted, 'as he could not find twelve men in the Seminary who believed in the being of a God.'"

A foolish jest, forgotten at the place of its birth as soon as born, with no foundation whatever in truth, this truth-loving Christian Missionary has caught up, given it form and substance, and reported as fact. He calls it a "sarcasm," but he is careful to give the narrative the air of a true relation of an actual occurrence; and so the reader would receive it. If we

apprehend aright the meaning of terms, Mr. L. intends to say, that the law students, wishing to cast a reproach upon the Theological Seminary, went over to the school, made the inquiry and the report as related above. That would be a practical sarcasm. It is such we understand Mr. L. to affirm it to have been. If we are mistaken, and he intended to give it merely as a current jest, he executed his purpose in a very ambiguous manner. There are few readers who would not understand him to relate what he considered a true story. The probable truth we think is, that it was told to him as a jest, that he received it as such, but in his book has chosen to give it such a questionable shape as to make it pass for the record of a veritable fact. He seems to write and act upon the principle "all is fair in controversy."

We can by no means follow Mr. Lang through all his misrepresentations, but we cannot pass over his account of the sermon preached by Mr. Dewey on the occasion of the destruction of the Lexington. Here it is.

"On the burning of the Lexington steamboat in Long Island Sound last winter, — a frightful calamity by which upwards of an hundred persons were either burned to death or drowned, — the Rev. Dr. Dewey, a Unitarian clergyman of some eminence in New York, whose congregation have recently built him a handsome church in Broadway, in that city, preached a sermon on that occasion; and I was told by a young gentleman of Dutch extraction, but of evangelical sentiments, who was present, that the gist of the discourse was, that in the chain of Divine Providence such calamitous events are necessary as 'sacrifices for the advancement of the arts and sciences.' Truly if any of the surviving relatives of the unfortunate sufferers had been present, they truly might have said with peculiar propriety, 'miserable comforters are ye all.'"

There is of course no such sentiment in the discourse; nothing out of which it could have been framed. And we need not say to any one but Mr. Lang, that he was grossly imposed upon by the "young gentleman of Dutch extraction but of evangelical sentiments." This young gentleman may, indeed, have heard the sermon and been incapable of understanding a preacher above the reach of his mind, and reported him ignorantly; but it is more probable, we think, that finding the traveller agape for wonders, he amused himself by playing on his credulity. This whole chapter on Unitarianism shows its author foolish or false, — weak or malignant. Where the truth lies we are unable to decide. Unavoidable error cannot in a single instance form his apology; for the sources of information lay close at hand.

There are many other things in this chapter which we should

feel compelled to notice if we attempted to do justice to all its unworthiness. But we must refrain; we have neither time nor space for more.

We hope the time will come by and by, not when Unitarians will be exempted from the most unsparing criticism of both their doctrines and the evidence and argument that support them, but when our opponents will no longer seek our destruction by the use of the dishonorable, unlawful weapons of slander and falsehood. The intended injury, they may rest assured, falls not upon us so much as upon themselves,—nor upon themselves so much as upon religion. We are happy to say, that of late, in our own country, the Orthodox Christian controvertist has thought it necessary to show himself not only a Christian, but also honest, and a gentleman. On the other side of the water the good lesson set them here is yet to be learned.

Remarks on the Nature and Probable Effects of introducing the Voluntary System in the Studies of Latin and Greek, proposed in certain Resolutions of the President and Fellows of Harvard University now under the Consideration of its Board of Overseers, and also on the present State of the Latin Department in that Institution. By JOSIAH QUINCY, President of the University. Cambridge: published by John Owen. 1841. 8vo. pp. 29.

THIS pamphlet by President Quincy gives an account of important changes in the studies pursued at Cambridge which it is proposed to introduce. We place on record the resolutions on the subject which have been passed by the Corporation at the suggestion of the Faculty, as presenting in the most succinct and intelligible form the contemplated innovations. The remarks of President Quincy, which follow, are addressed to the Board of Overseers, who are as the final authority in the case yet to act upon them, and contain an earnest, and to our mind, convincing and powerful argument for their adoption by that board. The resolutions are as follows.

“*Resolved*, 1. That every Student who has completed, during the Freshman year, the studies required by the laws of the University, in the Greek and Latin Departments for that year, and shall have passed a satisfactory examination in them, and shall be recommended by the Examining Committee and his Instructors for the privilege of election in such branch, respectively may discontinue the study of either or both branches, at the end of the Freshman year, at the written request

of his parent, or guardian (if under age), made with a full knowledge of his standing as a scholar, in each branch respectively, of the future studies in each department, and of those to be substituted for them.

"*Resolved*, 2. That those Students, who continue in the study of either, or both branches after the commencement of the Sophomore year, may choose either of the following courses: — the first course to continue through the Sophomore and Junior years; — the second course to extend through the Senior year, and particularly designed for those who wish to become accomplished scholars, or to qualify themselves thoroughly to instruct in classical schools and colleges.

"*Resolved*, 3. That those who pursue the first or second course, in either department, shall receive in addition to the usual diploma, a special certificate expressing the studies each has respectively pursued.

"*Resolved*, 4. That those Students who discontinue the study of Greek or Latin, shall choose as a substitute one or more of the following branches: — Natural History; Civil History; Chemistry; Geology; Geography, and the use of the Globes; Popular Astronomy; Modern Languages, Modern Oriental Literature; or studies in either Greek or Latin, which may not have been discontinued, in addition to the prescribed course in such branch. The times and order of these studies will depend on the convenience of the instructors, and the decision of the Faculty, and each Student will be required to engage in such a number of studies as shall, in the judgment of the Faculty, be sufficient reasonably to occupy his whole time.

"*Resolved*, 5. That those Students who have not at the commencement of the Sophomore year completed the Greek or Latin studies required in the Freshman year, will be allowed the same choice with the others as to their regular studies. But in addition to these regular studies, and in place of a voluntary study, which in this case will not be allowed, they shall, unless excused by a special vote of the Faculty, continue the Greek or Latin in which they are deficient, until they have completed those required in the Freshman year.

"*Voted*, That the President lay before the Overseers, the foregoing Resolutions, that they may approve the same if they see fit." — pp. 3, 4.

In the remarks which follow, of which we can give but a brief sketch, the President says, "The end proposed by the resolutions is to introduce into the University such a system of studies, as may enable the Corporation to establish a real standard in the Greek and Roman languages, and to remove the obstacles, which under the present system now prevent the institution from raising it to its greatest practicable height." There is now no such standard, he contends, nor can be on the present system of studies. Now all the students of each class for the three first years pursue Latin and Greek to a certain extent, all going over the same ground, and at the time of graduating each receives a diploma, which is no certificate of scholarship, for the same is given to all, but merely of the fact that he who receives it has passed through certain processes of instruction. The proposed substitute is that a real standard of

classical attainment shall be established by means of a "thorough, searching, individual examination" of all who pursue the Greek and Latin beyond the Freshman year, and to whom a diploma shall not be given except such examination shall be satisfactory. It is a necessary part of such a system that the pursuit of these studies should be voluntary. None shall be compelled to pursue them beyond the Freshman year; but from those who do continue them beyond that term through the two or three remaining years, vastly higher attainments will be expected, (as will vastly higher requisitions be made,) from their being rid of the clog of unwilling and therefore idle fellow students, and from their enjoying a proportionably greater share of the Professors' time and attention. The standard of classical scholarship will by consequence be as assuredly raised above what it now is, as any material object will rise by being divested of all incumbrances and relieved of dead weights.

"These," says President Quincy, "are the advantages of the proposed system.

1. It enables a standard of scholarship to be established in the College, founded upon a thorough, searching, individual examination.

2. It enables that standard to be raised to any practicable height; whereas under the present system it cannot be raised at all, or at least only nominally.

3. It makes every diploma an evidence of attainment and of the thoroughness of that attainment."

As to any apprehension that upon the study of Latin and Greek being made voluntary after the Freshman year, large numbers would abandon them, the President thinks that such fear is groundless, if the experiment already made in Mathematics proves anything. In that branch, though vastly more unpopular at Cambridge than the classics, a very small proportion of any class has been found to throw it up. "The Professor of Mathematics," says the President, "thought, previous to the experiment, that one half of each class might quit that study. In fact, in a class of fifty-four, only seven quitted it. And so little did the Professor expect any great number to join the third course, extending through the four College years, that he anticipated only *one*. Whereas thirteen took the highest course. And the consequence is, that a greater number of individuals more highly instructed in that branch will be now sent from the College, than were ever sent heretofore.

"The repugnance to the learned languages is much less than to the mathematics, and the inducement to their study far greater; so that the apprehension of an alarming defection may be considered as in a great degree unfounded." — p. 18.

This is a very imperfect outline of President Quincy's remarks, but it is all we can now find room for. We trust the new system will be permitted to go into operation, for, in the words of President Quincy, "that every youth, willing or unwilling, should be compelled to pursue the path which leads to high and extensive attainments in the learned languages, under penalty of being deprived of the distinction of being 'liberally educated,' is apparently unreasonable, unwise, and hopeless."

In the latter portion of the pamphlet Mr. Quincy makes some explanations relating to the unfavorable reports of the examining committee of the Overseers in the case of the Latin Department for the present and past year. The reports, he states, were not made by the committee, but only by the chairman of the committee, — the other members, all or many of them not having seen the reports. Letters are given from five of such members, dissenting more or less from the opinions of the chairman.

The Young Mother's Delight in the Guidance of her Child's Intellect. By WILLIAM MARTIN, Editor of the London Educational Magazine. Also, *the Duties of Mothers*, By REV. E. N. KIRK. Boston: James Loring, publisher. 1840. 18mo. pp. 216.

THE hints and maxims on education in this little volume are in general excellent; but the book derives no increased value from the addition of the latter portion from the pen of Mr. Kirk. In his address to little children we find this atrocious sentiment; "If he (Jesus) had not died you must have gone to hell." It is stated absolutely, without qualification or explanation. We are reminded by it of an edition of the New Testament we have seen, we regret that we are unable to state where it originated, with a frontispiece representing in the upper part of the picture the heavenly host, who are engaged in looking down upon the active exertions of a number of devils in all horrible shapes, employed in driving men, women, and children into the flames of hell, which flare up from the mouth of the great pit. What winning ideas are thus impressed upon the minds of the young of the character of God, and the religion of Jesus! What an attractive introduction to the reading of the New Testament!

A Liturgy for the Use of the Church at King's Chapel in Boston; collected principally from the Book of Common Prayer. Fifth Edition; with Family Prayers and Services, and other Additions. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1841.

IF any societies, new or old, are desirous to adopt a form of prayer, here is a new and neat edition of the liturgy used in King's Chapel, for them, edited by Dr. Greenwood. A few alterations and additions make the present edition to differ slightly from preceding ones. The Te Deum has been restored to the form it took in the edition of 1785. The second form of evening prayer has been abridged, the Ante-Communion service, or Office of the Commandments, has been introduced, or rather restored; one of the three Additional Services has been omitted; six new forms have been added to the family prayers; three services for Sunday Schools have been inserted, together with a service for the burial of children. Other alterations and additions have been made in this edition, says Dr. Greenwood, but those now mentioned are the most important instances in which it differs from the last.

Sacred Paths; or Life in prospect of Immortality. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 1841. 18mo. pp. 218.

A GOOD book, on a very good plan, being composed of brief selections from practical writers, followed by forms of prayer for morning and evening, eighteen in number; selections from the Scriptures of devout ejaculations, or brief prayers, and a few hymns. Books of this character cannot be too much multiplied. They are sure to meet the taste and wants of some, if not of all; of enough amply to reward the author for the pains of either writing or compiling.

Our contributors must have patience with the slowness of the months and the narrowness of our limits.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY,

PUBLISHERS,

No. 134 Washington Street, Boston.

AGENTS.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

PORTSMOUTH,	J. W. Foster.
EXETER,	F. Grant.
DOVER, &	} G. & E. Wadleigh.
GREAT FALLS,	
KEENE,	George Tilden.
CONCORD,	Marsh, Capen, & Lyon.

MASSACHUSETTS.

CAMBRIDGE,	J. Owen.
CHARLESTOWN,	G. W. Warren.
CONCORD,	J. Stacy.
TAUNTON,	S. O. Dunbar.
SALEM,	{ Caleb Foote.
NEWBURYPORT,	H. Whipple.
HINGHAM,	Jno. Gray, Jr.
NEW BEDFORD,	Moses L. Whitton.
PLYMOUTH,	William Howe.
WORCESTER,	W. S. Bartlett.
SPRINGFIELD,	C. Harris.
NORTHAMPTON,	Samuel Bowles.
LOWELL,	J. H. Butler.
AMHERST,	Oliver March.
	J. S. & C. Adams.

MAINE.

PORTLAND,	Colman & Chisholm.
HALLOWELL,	C. Spaulding.
BELFAST,	James P. White.
AUGUSTA,	G. S. Carpenter & Co.
BANGOR,	Smith & Fenno.
EASTPORT,	J. Beckford.

RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE,	B. Cranston & Co.
-------------	-------------------

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN,	B. & W. Noyes.
HARTFORD,	Canfield & Robbins.

VERMONT.

BURLINGTON,	Rev. G. P. Ingersoll.
BRATTLEBORO',	Joseph Steen.

NEW JERSEY.

TRENTON,	D. Fenton.
----------	------------

NEW YORK.

ALBANY,	W. C. Little.
NEW YORK,	C. S. Francis.
TRENTON,	Isaac B. Pierce.
CANANDAIGUA,	L. Morse.
AUBURN,	Iverson & Terry.
BUFFALO,	O. G. Steele.
ROCHESTER,	C. Morse.
SYRACUSE,	G. J. Gardner.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA,	Dr. J. Robertson.
PITTSBURG,	Kay & Co.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE,	N. Hickman.
------------	-------------

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON,	Kennedy & Elliott.
-------------	--------------------

VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND,	R. D. Sanxay.
NORFOLK,	C. Hall.

KENTUCKY.

LEXINGTON,	C. Wallace.
------------	-------------

OHIO.

CINCINNATI,	Josiah Drake.
MARIETTA,	N. Ward.

NORTH CAROLINA.

RALEIGH,	J. Gales & Son.
----------	-----------------

SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON,	Rev. S. Gilman.
COLUMBIA,	B. D. Plant.

GEORGIA.

AUGUSTA,	W. J. Hobby.
SAVANNAH,	Thomas Purse.

ALABAMA.

MOBILE,	Dr. H. Gates.
---------	---------------

TENNESSEE.

NASHVILLE,	W. A. Eichbaum.
CHRISTIANVILLE,	B. S. Parsons.

MISSISSIPPI.

NATCHEZ,	N. L. Williams.
----------	-----------------

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS,	E. Johns & Co.
--------------	----------------

The work will be sent *by mail* to any part of the United States on the remittance of one year's subscription (four dollars) to the Editor, Cambridge, or to the care of the Publishers, Boston,—subscribers paying postage, and taking the risk of conveyance.

The subscription becomes due on the publication of the second number; that is, on the 1st of May. Distant subscribers are expected to transmit the amount of their yearly subscriptions as soon as they receive the second number of each year.

CAMBRIDGE PRESS:—METCALF, TORRY, AND BALLOU.